The Northern Front *By Major Allen Johnson*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

January 16, 1940

Debunking the News from Finland

WITH DOCUMENTS FROM OUR DAILY PAPERS

by GEORGE SELDES

Guns or Relief

THE 1940 BUDGET ANALYZED

by ADAM LAPIN

The New Nobel Prizemen

by J. B. S. HALDANE

CARTOONS BY GROPPER, REA, SORIANO, JAMES DUGAN

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Between Ourselves

OUR readers have responded to the discussion in this space two weeks ago on organizing and extending the NM forums, and already an increased number of speaking dates have been arranged. Our editors and contributors are available to groups on a wide variety of topics. Joseph North speaks on the domestic and international political situation; A. B. Magil and Joseph Starobin on similar topics; and John Stark on Spain today, and organized religion and the struggle for peace. James Dugan speaks on the movies and on jazz. John L. Spivak continues his Coughlin expose on the lecture platform; Ruth McKenney, Howard Selsam, Alvah Bessie, and many others are available for specialized talks. Consultations with Jean Stanley at this office will bring these speakers to your meeting.

The forum schedule for the ensuing week is as follows:

Joseph North on Friday, January 12, at the Progressive Forum, 430 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C., at 8:15 p.m.—"Can America Stay Out of War?"

John L. Spivak on Friday, January 12, at the Milrose Chateau, 1830 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn, at 8:30 p.m. Auspices the Jewish People's Committee.

Joseph North on Sunday, January 14, at the Ten Eyck Studio, 116 West 21st St., N. Y. C., at 8:30 p.m.—"The International Situation." Auspices the IWO.

John L. Spivak on Sunday, January 14, at the Hunts Point Palace, Southern Blvd. and 163rd St., Bronx, N. Y., at 2 p.m. Auspices the Jewish People's Committee.

Ruth McKenney on Sunday, January 14, at the IWO Hall, 772 High St., Newark, N. J., at 8:30 p.m.—"America's Industrial Valley." Auspices the Modern Bookshop.

Howard Selsam on Sunday, January 14, at the Flatbush Marxist Forum, 1112 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., at 8 p.m.—"The Meaning of Freedom and the World Today."

Joseph Starobin on Friday, January 19, at the Progressive Forum, 430 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C., at 8:15 p.m.—"The War Against the Soviets."

Joseph North on Friday, January 19, at Croton-on-Hudson at 8 p.m.—"The International Situation."

Bruce Minton and John Stuart, well known contributors to NM and authors of *Men Who Lead Labor,* are giving a course in "These Twenty Years; a History of Post-war America" at the Workers School, New York City, which opened its winter session on January 8. Other courses in this session are "The Nature of the World and Man," a science survey; Contemporary Literature; Dialectical Materialism; Historical Materialism; Imperialism and World Politics. A detailed catalogue of these and other courses may be had from the Workers School, Rm. 301, 35 East 12th St., N. Y. C. Registration is now going on.

To aid exiled writers, a benefit auction of original autographed manuscripts of many of the greatest books and plays of our time, donated by their authors, will be held at the Hotel Pierre, N. Y. C., on Sunday, January 14, at 8 p.m., under the joint auspices of the League of American Writers and the Booksellers Guild of America. Romain Rolland, Aldous Huxley, John Steinbeck, Liam O'Flaherty, Ernest Hemingway, Louis Bromfield, Franz Werfel, Charles Beard, Clifford Odets, Christopher Morley, Archibald MacLeish, and hundreds of other prominent writers, including Eleanor Roosevelt, have contributed autographed scripts to aid their less fortunate colleagues who are living in exile. Artists and composers have donated their share of original works for the same cause. Rockwell Kent, Walt Disney, Sid Hoff, Peggy Bacon, James Thurber, Waldo Pierce, C. D. Batchelor are a few of the contributing artists.

The Department Store Union, Local 1250, is sponsoring a party for the benefit of Lincoln Brigade vets still imprisoned in Franco Spain. The party will feature a screwball poetry contest, in which odd and fugitive declamations will be judged according to demerit. The time is Saturday, January 13, at 8 p.m., and the place is the home of Mrs. Leon Kahn at 25 East Ninth St., N. Y. C.

George A. Douglas

George Seldes

Mr. Seldes is carrying on today the task of truth-telling that Lincoln Steffens bravely developed before the first imperialist war. For Seldes has a wealth of experience as a war correspondent and foreign expert possessed by few, if any, living newspapermen. While so many correspondents keep their pleasant jobs by writing propaganda bilge as low in quality as movie advertising, Seldes has had the guts to expose the perversions of journalism inspired by newspaper business offices. His "You Can't Print That," "Can Such Things Be?" "Sawdust Caesar," "Lords of the Press," "You Can't Do That," and "The Catholic Crisis" are some of his books. He is now at work on a book about the art of Red-baiting, from which he has taken time off to jot down some of the obvious fakeries in the great press campaign now being carried on to whoop up anti-Soviet war sentiment in the United States.

Who's Who

ADAM LAPIN is the NM and *Daily Worker* correspondent in Washington. . . . Gale Thorne is a research worker in the field of American history. . . . Ed Falkowski, a former coal miner of Pennsylvania, has worked in pre-Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union, and has been on the staff of the Moscow *Daily News.* He was a frequent contributor to the monthly NM. . . . J. B. S. Haldane, whose writings have frequently appeared in NM, is a world-famous scientist and Marxist. . . . Robert Stark is a New York economist and writer. . . . Harry Slochower is the author of *Three Ways of Modern Man* and a critical study of Thomas Mann.

Flashbacks

KARL LIEBKNECHT, leader of the revolutionary German resistance to the first great imperialist war, was tracked down by spies and arrested on Jan. 15, 1919. While being taken to prison he was murdered by reactionary army officers under the protection of Social Democratic police. Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht's cofighter for peace and socialism, was murdered at the same time. . . . Perhaps the greatest and most successful strike ever organized by the IWW began Jan. 11, 1912. It was the textile strike at Lawrence, Mass. . . . On Jan. 15, 1936, the Spanish People's Front was formed. . . . The *Daily Worker,* the world's first daily Communist newspaper to be printed in English, appeared in Chicago, Jan. 13, 1924. . . . The Tennessee Supreme Court in the famous Scopes trial on Jan. 15, 1927, upheld a law forbidding the teaching of evolution. . . . And it was only two years ago, Jan. 13, 1938, that the Church of England, that mainstay of the British empire, accepted the doctrine of evolution.

This Week

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXIV JANUARY 16, 1940 NUMBER 4

Debunking the News from Finland

George Seldes, who is a newspaperman himself, starts an expose of the greatest lie campaign of the commercial press since the interventionists "quelled" the Russian revolution.

IN THIRTY-ONE years of journalism I have never witnessed such a universal, concentrated, and intentional campaign of lying as that conducted by press and radio in the month of December 1939 against the Soviet government, its army, and its people.

All of us in the press section of the U. S. Army in France lied about the World War—and some of us told the truth and were sent back home, as in Heywood Broun's case. We all lied, sometimes through ignorance but as a rule deliberately. It was our war and we were patriotic.

But this isn't our war. Or is it? Are the newspapers of America lying because they know in advance that we will be in this war, that it is patriotic now to lie about it and thereby prepare the American people to enter the war by creating the atmosphere of mass hysteria in which such suicidal action can be taken?

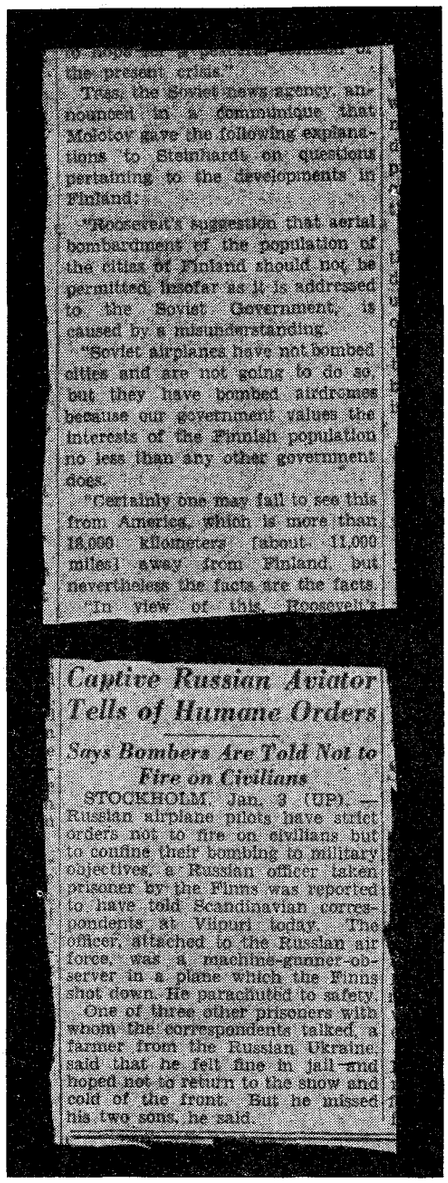
The most objective person in the world can only conclude that the falsification of the news, the distortions, the methods of sensationalism, the complete violation of the code of ethics of American journalism (which glorifies "Truthfulness, Accuracy, Impartiality, and Fair Play") have been deliberate, in order to help bring the United States into the war. (This may sound ridiculous to you, as it did to me a few weeks ago, but when you hear brokers in Wall Street say, "We'll be in by April," and Washington correspondents predict the same event with another date, you look at recent happenings with sharper eyes.)

THE BIGGEST LIE

Everyone knows that the American people have not been neutral in this war. The press, the radio, the movies, the preachers, and the bankers regimented public opinion against Germany in September. They will keep it regimented until such time as the British and French are ready to join Germany in other adventures. But it must be pointed out that the hysteria against the Soviet Union, which failed in the case of the steamer *Flint* but succeeded in the first days of December, was based entirely upon a falsehood—perhaps the biggest international lie of our generation.

I am referring of course to the "bombing of civilians in Helsinki."

Anyone who reads the newspapers themselves—not, of course, the lying headlines or that combination of falsehood and malice known as the editorials—knows that there has never been a bombardment of civilians by the Red Army in Finland, just as there never was a bombardment of civilians by the loyalists in Spain. The New York *Times* story dated December 1 from Copenhagen states that Soviet planes were "aiming at the terminus" (page 1, paragraph 6). The first subhead is "Airfield Bombed First," which is logical, as the first objective is the destruction of enemy airfields and planes. "Helsinki was not bombarded then, but the airport at Malm [sic] was hit. . . ." As for the second raid, "Ten planes . . . attacked the center of the city and one bomb exploded near Terminus Square." This is from the Danish correspondent of the *Politiken* (a completely unreliable and biased newspaper which has not hesitated to publish anti-Soviet falsehoods), saying what everyone with any military knowledge knows, that there was an attempt to bomb the railroad station, objective No. 2 in any war.



the present crisis."

Tass, the Soviet news agency, announced in a communique that Molotov gave the following explanations to Steinhardt on questions pertaining to the developments in Finland:

"Roosevelt's suggestion that aerial bombardment of the population of the cities of Finland should not be permitted, insofar as it is addressed to the Soviet Government, is caused by a misunderstanding.

"Soviet airplanes have not bombed cities and are not going to do so, but they have bombed airdromes because our government values the interests of the Finnish population no less than any other government does.

"Certainly one may fail to see this from America, which is more than 10,000 kilometers [about 11,000 miles] away from Finland, but nevertheless the facts are the facts.

"In view of this, Roosevelt's

Captive Russian Aviator Tells of Humane Orders

Says Bombers Are Told Not to Fire on Civilians

STOCKHOLM, Jan. 3 (UP). — Russian airplane pilots have strict orders not to fire on civilians but to confine their bombing to military objectives, a Russian officer taken prisoner by the Finns was reported to have told Scandinavian correspondents at Viipuri today. The officer, attached to the Russian air force, was a machine-gunner-observer in a plane which the Finns shot down. He parachuted to safety.

One of three other prisoners with whom the correspondents talked, a farmer from the Russian Ukraine, said that he felt fine in jail and hoped not to return to the snow and cold of the front. But he missed his two sons, he said.

MOLOTOV WAS RIGHT. *F.D.R.'s reproach against the USSR was pointless, said Premier Molotov as reported by Tass, December 1. The premier and commissar for foreign affairs told the American ambassador that "Soviet airplanes have not bombed cities and are not going to do so." Soviet pilots captured by the Finns reported, according to the UP: "Russian airplane pilots have strict orders not to fire on civilians but to confine their bombing to military objectives."*

SCHOENFELD'S REPORT

In the December 1 edition of the *Times* which I received in Connecticut there appeared on page 11 a complete refutation of the hysterical falsehood about the bombing of civilians—the report from our minister in Helsinki, Mr. Schoenfeld. This report, issued by our State Department, says the first attack was on the Malmi airfield, the second was on the fortresses in the bay, and the third "in the immediate vicinity of the American Legation office." The first raid was made by one two-motored plane, the second by nine light bombers, the third by fifteen planes, type not named. The reason I emphasize these numbers will be obvious to anyone who knows anything about air war. This story appeared in the early edition of the *Times*. It was killed in later editions.

On December 2 the *Times* London correspondent tells of phoning Helsinki and hearing of four more raids. "Some of the bombs had set fire to the oil and naval docks . . . a few had hit military objectives but many had torn through the roofs of humble dwellings, killing scores and injuring many more. . . ." There is no story, however, of "bombing of civilians."

On the other hand the United Press—which is still trying to explain away its biggest fake story in the history of the world, its false Armistice—sent a story from Helsinki which Roy Howard's *World-Telegram* (anti-CIO, anti-Newspaper Guild, anti-labor, and

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pro-Howard profits) spread over its front page under these headlines:

RUSSIANS BOMB HELSINKI;
FIRES RAGE; HUNDREDS KILLED

"Red planes," reported Norman B. Deuel, roared out of cloudy skies throughout the day and in mid-afternoon unloaded a hail of thermite bombs on the dazed population of Helsinki . . . inflicting hundreds of casualties. . . . Unofficial estimates of the dead in the first raids were as high as two hundred. . . ."

It is only fair to Mr. Deuel to explain that the United Press is the stingiest of news agencies and pays the lousiest salaries in the world. It pinches pennies, maintains an inadequate research and morgue department, spends as little as possible in getting news, and therefore skeletonizes its "cables" so closely that correspondents abroad cannot recognize their stories when they appear in the papers. A United Press dispatch which I sent from the London office in 1916 consisted of the following words: "BRFREIGHTER MEDITERRANEAN BISECTS SUBMARINE." This appeared as a three-quarter column story, some 750 words, of a great battle between a British freighter and a German submarine in the Mediterranean: a running fight, torpedoes and shellfire, and finally a British victory when the freighter rammed the U-boat and split it in half, with the concluding scene described in great detail. Now it is just possible that Deuel never wrote anything at all about "a hail of thermite bombs on the dazed population." He may very honestly have reported that bombs intended for military objectives fell short or overshot the mark—as they did even when aimed by American aviators against the Germans and will be when aimed by American aviators against any enemy in a future war. Mr. Deuel does say that the bombs "were aimed at the railroad station, the harbor, and the airport." Nowhere in the body of the story does he substantiate the frenzied UP lead, which may have been written in New York, the thermite attack on a dazed population; it is logical to presume that this misrepresentation was the work of the rewrite (and expansion) desk in New York.

The New York *Post* on November 30 carried the same story as the *World-Telegram*. On December 1, however, its banner line was "REDS PROCLAIM FINNISH SOVIET" and its bombing story (from the UP) said "Soviet airplanes raided Helsinki three times today, dropping at least fifteen bombs on the working class district."

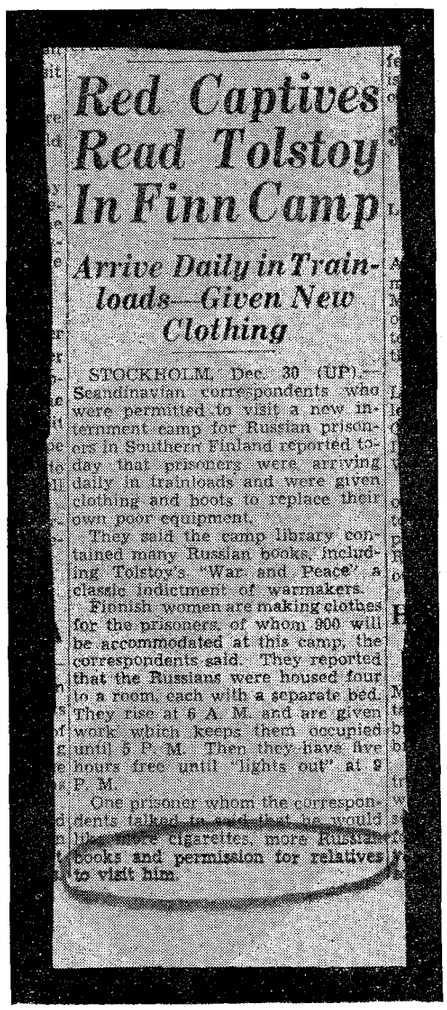
This concern over bombing of the proletariat is a new trick. When Franco deliberately destroyed the workmen's homes in Malaga and the two workers' sections of Madrid, sparing the rich residential district, there were no such headline stories. The *Post* gives the official death toll of the November 30 raids as seventy-two.

On December 5 the *Times* carried a United Press dispatch which stated:

> The Finnish Defense Ministry reported today that eighty-five persons were killed and 182 wounded by Soviet air raids in the last four days on Helsinki, Hangoe, Viborg, Lachtis, and Petsamo. The heaviest toll was in Helsinki where sixty-five persons were killed, 160 wounded. . . .

This official statement is in my opinion the most complete refutation possible. There was no attack on civilians and the Finnish government admits it. I will explain this point later.

However, the Associated Press is not to be outdone in atrocity-mongering by its rival, the UP. In an AP story there is the first of many reports that civilians were machine-gunned. Since I was not there I cannot confirm or deny the report, but I do know something about the machine-gunning of civilians—as for example the murder of hundreds of women and children on the flight from Malaga, when the Italian fascists, the German Nazis, and the Franco Falangists killed the refugees. What I do know is that there was no possibility of using anti-aircraft guns on the Malaga road and there were no loyalist planes available. If there had been, there



Red Captives Read Tolstoy In Finn Camp

Arrive Daily in Trainloads—Given New Clothing

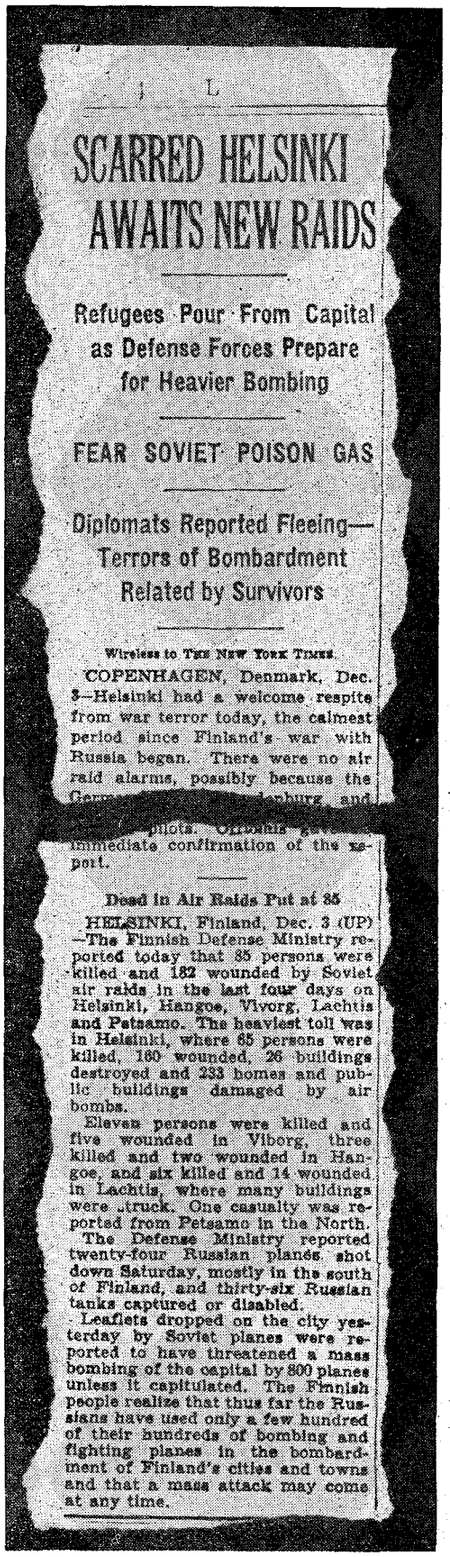
STOCKHOLM, Dec. 30 (UP).—Scandinavian correspondents who were permitted to visit a new internment camp for Russian prisoners in Southern Finland reported today that prisoners were arriving daily in trainloads and were given clothing and boots to replace their own poor equipment.

They said the camp library contained many Russian books, including Tolstoy's "War and Peace" a classic indictment of warmakers.

Finnish women are making clothes for the prisoners, of whom 900 will be accommodated at this camp, the correspondents said. They reported that the Russians were housed four to a room, each with a separate bed. They rise at 6 A. M. and are given work which keeps them occupied until 5 P. M. Then they have five hours free until "lights out" at 9 P. M.

One prisoner whom the correspondents talked to said that he would like more cigarettes, more Russian books and permission for relatives to visit him.

CAT OUT OF THE BAG. *This UP story spills the beans about the poorly equipped "Reds." If you will just read "Finnish revolutionary workers and peasants" for "Russians," it will all be clear. The last paragraph, in which the interviewed prisoner asks that his relatives be allowed to visit him, gives the deception away. Only a Finn would ask that.*



SCARRED HELSINKI AWAITS NEW RAIDS

Refugees Pour From Capital as Defense Forces Prepare for Heavier Bombing

FEAR SOVIET POISON GAS

Diplomats Reported Fleeing—Terrors of Bombardment Related by Survivors

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

COPENHAGEN, Denmark, Dec. 3—Helsinki had a welcome respite from war terror today, the calmest period since Finland's war with Russia began. There were no air raid alarms, possibly because the Ge[illegible]burg and [illegible] pilots. Officials gave immediate confirmation of the report.

Dead in Air Raids Put at 85

HELSINKI, Finland, Dec. 3 (UP)—The Finnish Defense Ministry reported today that 85 persons were killed and 182 wounded by Soviet air raids in the last four days on Helsinki, Hangoe, Viborg, Lachtis and Petsamo. The heaviest toll was in Helsinki, where 65 persons were killed, 160 wounded, 26 buildings destroyed and 233 homes and public buildings damaged by air bombs.

Eleven persons were killed and five wounded in Viborg, three killed and two wounded in Hangoe, and six killed and 14 wounded in Lachtis, where many buildings were struck. One casualty was reported from Petsamo in the North.

The Defense Ministry reported twenty-four Russian planes shot down Saturday, mostly in the south of Finland, and thirty-six Russian tanks captured or disabled.

Leaflets dropped on the city yesterday by Soviet planes were reported to have threatened a mass bombing of the capital by 800 planes unless it capitulated. The Finnish people realize that thus far the Russians have used only a few hundred of their hundreds of bombing and fighting planes in the bombardment of Finland's cities and towns and that a mass attack may come at any time.

WHAT RATES HEADLINES? *Notice how the New York "Times" played up these two stories. The first gets headline, "Scarred Helsinki Awaits New Raids," but the story says that "Helsinki had a welcome respite," etc. It was followed by an official Finnish communique, after the initial bombings had received front page treatment, but this item was buried away on page four—eighty-five persons were killed, 182 wounded, in four days of bombings over widely separated areas. Doesn't sound like bombing of civilians.*

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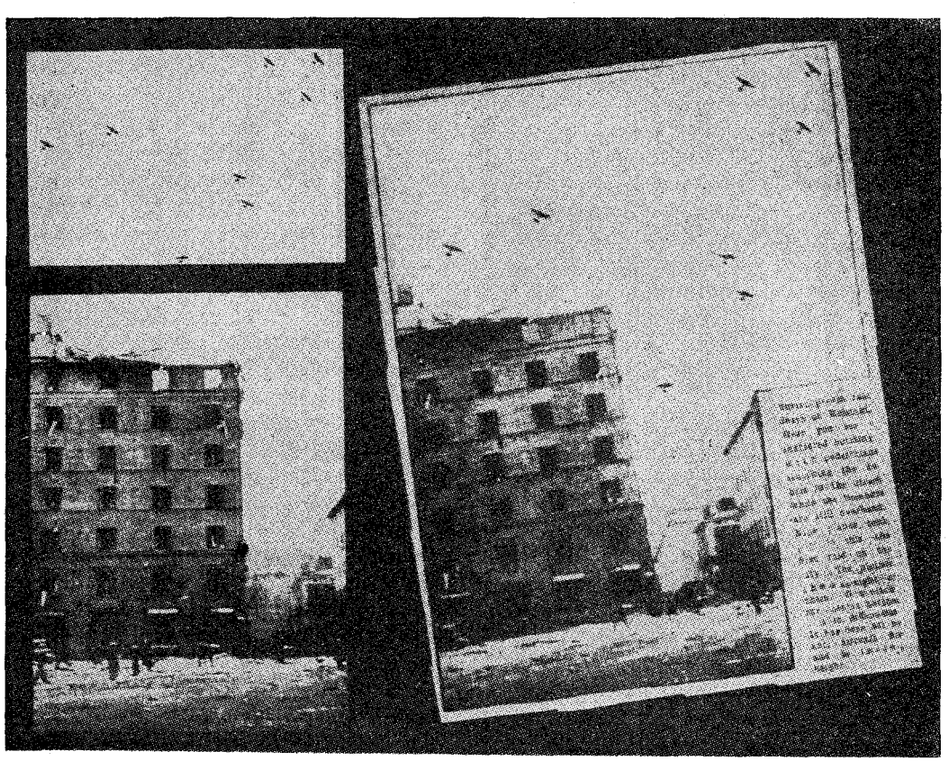
LIFE
Brave little Finland fights
The burning body of a woman hung out the window of a car on an empty, smoking street. An old man sat in a ditch with the tears of his sobs freezing on his jaw. Two inches of snow lay on Helsinki, Europe's neatest, cleanest little capital. And again and again, huge bombers with the red Communist star painted on their wings racketed up from the horizon to blast away at the decent self-respecting democracy
war, turn to page 34 for a map and Major Eliot's explanation. In Helsinki last week, as the bombs fell and the fires burned, young Photographer Frank Muto was taking for LIFE pictures of Finland's tragedy.
Though Russia had been mounting its crude and
RED STEAM-ROLLER?

"LIFE" CALLS ITSELF A LIAR. *The clipping on the left from "Life," December 11, gives an atrocity tale, made of whole cloth, emphasizing "two inches of snow lay on Helsinki" as alleged Red bombers flew over. Note also, "Life's" photographer Frank Muto was taking pictures. On December 25, "Life" printed a full spread of supposed Helsinki bombings, shown above. New Masses offers a free subscription to anyone finding a teaspoonful of snow in them. The "Life" pictures were stills from Hearst's notorious "News of the Day" newsreel. Frank Muto has been in Helsinki for a month now; no pictures have appeared in "Life" except the Hearst fakes.*



ENGLISH-FAKED PHOTOS FOR EXPORT. *The pictures on the left show (top) a squadron of Red bombers in the air somewhere, probably over Red Square on May 1, and (bottom) building with top windows and part of roof blown out but window sashes still intact. These were distributed in the United States by the Associated Press, and printed in many papers, including the New York newspapers of December 5, as wirephotos from London. The picture on the right is a sordid fake made up of the two on the left superimposed. It appeared in the London "Daily Mirror" with the following caption: "Soviet planes rain death on Helsinki. Here you see a shattered building with pedestrians searching the debris in the street while the bombers are still overhead. Nine planes took part in this, the first raid on the city. The picture shows eight of them. One machine—centre bottom—is in difficulties. It has been hit by anti-aircraft fire and is losing height."*

would have been no machine-gunning. Now the war correspondents in Helsinki report in one breath that the Finnish anti-aircraft guns are miraculous and that the Soviet planes come down and machine-gun civilians. One of these two stories is a lie, and I am inclined to believe it is the machine-gunning story.

WHO TOLD THE TRUTH?

The Red Army bombing attacks on December 1 were directed at military objectives (according to Soviet sources) at Helsinki, Abo, Kotka, Petsamo, Viborg, and many other towns and cities. They were directed against civilians in the same areas, according to the journalists—most of them Danish and Finnish—whose stuff got into the American press. We are told that from one end of the nation to the other all during the day there were raids upon raids by Russian bombers. We are not told what the objectives were, whether airfields, munitions factories, docks, railroad stations had been hit or not. But what we are told—in the *World-Telegram* the next evening (December 2, from Mr. Deuel)—is that "yesterday's bombings had killed an estimated two hundred throughout Finland." The reader will please remember that all day the Reds were supposed to have machine-gunned the population of Helsinki, dropped bombs on the capital, and bombed a dozen or more cities from the Arctic to the Baltic, and the human loss was two hundred!

These are the "facts" as reported in the self-styled honest and reliable newspapers of the metropolis. And on these facts the editorial writers have built emotional atrocities more sensational than the yellow headlines of

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their own papers. For example, the New York *Herald Tribune,* without stopping to learn the facts, went off the deep end on December 2 with an editorial:

> And as the bombs crash and roar through the streets of Helsinki, mechanically gutting a busload of innocent people, or staining an apartment house with blood; as the Soviets reveal their Finnish puppet government, mechanically producing the brute lies and dishonesties which are to "justify" them, and thus completing the physical slaughter with an utter intellectual and spiritual destruction—the darkness indeed seems very nearly absolute.

The dishonesty of the editorial writer of the *Herald Tribune* is shown by the editorial on the same subject December 11—if indeed it was the same man who wrote both. Here it is said in the first lines that "it was a little after nine o'clock on the morning of November 30 when six Soviet airplanes swept over Helsinki and let go their bombs at its airfield. . . ." Is this a retraction? Well, anyway, it is now known that the raid was on an airfield. But since it is now impossible to accuse the Soviets of an atrocity there, the only thing left is to accuse them of some future atrocity, something they might commit in the course of the war. The editorial writer continues:

> But where is the famous Russian airforce? Well, where is it? A change of weather may bring it out in all its barbarism, but the weather was good enough in the opening days and there was nothing like the coldly methodical mass bombing of every vital center to which the Germans treated Poland. . . .

I was particularly interested in this phrase "may bring it out in all its barbarism," because that is practically a promise that any future air attack will be labeled barbarism—and a week later that is exactly what happened.

By December 4 the *Post* apparently felt it was not getting the circulation increases commensurate with its anti-Soviet policy, whereupon it produced as vicious an atrocity story as any war has developed. Under an eight-column streamer:

HELSINKI FEARS POISON GAS ATTACK

it published a story which was not even a story, but a rumor which the UP dignified by calling a report. "Reports spread that Russian flyers planned to bombard the city with poison gas," said the text on which the headlines were written. And that was all. There were no facts; there was nothing but journalistic fraud. I leave it to the eighteen thousand members of the Newspaper Guild as well as to the journalists of the American Press Society to say whether or not this is journalism or fraud.

I will not quote the editorials from the Hearst press, the other professional Red-baiting press, and the press which suppresses the news every day in the year to suit its advertisers and still pretends to be a free press. (If anyone thinks I exaggerate I will name only one instance: the Federal Trade Commission in the past year has issued complaints, stipulations, cease and desist orders, and fraud orders against the leading department stores of New York City and at least a hundred of the best known advertised products and only the New York *Times* has mentioned a few of them: the *Post, Sun, World-Telegram, News, Mirror, Journal and American,* and *Herald Tribune* have suppressed the news.) I will proceed with the evidence that there has been no bombing of civilians in Finland and that all the newspapers of the world which said there was have lied.

Truth from Norway

BACK in 1916, George Seldes found that his one-line United Press cables from London were appearing in the American press as three-quarter column stories, 750 words in length. "BRFREIGHTER MEDITERRANEAN BISECTS SUBMARINE," he wrote and lo! the details, shellfire and all, were regaling his American readers. The same thing is happening today and Axel Kielland, correspondent for the Oslo *Dagbladet,* didn't like it. According to the *Daily Worker* dispatch from London for January 4, Kielland wrote his paper in Norway a hot article called "Underestimating the Russians," in which he says:

"It is characteristic that my telegram reporting the battle of Lake Kaskamo, which resulted in a defeat for the Finns, called forth indignation in Oslo—indignation . . . against a correspondent who reported a defeat.

"Likewise it is characteristic that the newspapers seized on the report that the Russians retreated in the north and that the Russians fall into traps. It seems that the people needed a Christmas present.

"It is useless denying the facts. The lost battle of Kaskamo is a fact for us who saw the Russians advance and their incredibly rapid break-through.

"We eye-witnesses of a great part of this catastrophic advance endeavored to give an account of it. That was necessary, even if sad. The enormous masses now advancing behind hundreds of rolling fortresses are an irresistible wave which sweeps everything before it, and even people with no idea of military technique cannot but realize it means something when an army can advance at such incredible speed in enemy country in spite of the vast number of mines and ambushes which the Finns weeks ago systematically placed in the way of the Red Army.

"The regular Red Army cannot be laughed at," says Kielland indignantly. "We are committing an error which can be fatal when we cling to the view that the Russian on the northern front is an unfortunate, illiterate, thick-head falling over his own feet and freezing in the night."

Referring to stories that the Finnish White Guards harried Soviet transports to the north, Kielland says, "The fact is that the Russians, with extraordinary efficiency, distributing forces along an exceedingly long line of communication, held them to the town of Petsamo and also eastwards.

"Here they are building barracks, making roads, and behaving not so much less intelligently than other armies in conquered country. We, who have seen them, have ceased to underestimate them."

No one knows what Kielland's editor replied to this article. But it was not reprinted outside Norway, though Kielland himself also sends UP cables to the United States.

(I have evidence that the newspapers of the world which said there was have lied.)

FRANCO'S BOMBINGS

For witnesses I call upon every war correspondent who has ever in his life seen an attack on civilians. There are not many. Since Premier Negrin and Lt. Col. Hidalgo de Cisneros, commander of the airforces, gave orders to the loyalist aviators never under any circumstances to bomb civilians on Franco's side in Spain, and since these orders were obeyed, only those correspondents who were on the loyalist side can know what a bombardment means. Of course there are four or five or more million Spanish civilians who have undergone this terrible experience but they are not now free to tell.

The reader may remember the first stories from Spain, the bombings which resulted in ten or fifty or a hundred and more deaths. There was the school at Getafe, near Madrid, where one Franco bomb killed some seventy little children. There were hospitals and other institutions blown up by the German and Italian aviators working for fascism and Franco. In many instances these atrocious actions occurred so many miles from any possible military objective that we were justified in charging the Franco side with intentional bombing of civilians. And of course after the machine-gun airplane attacks on the refugees from Malaga, no one but Father Joseph Thorning, S.J., could possibly make out a case for the murderers.

But there was one case which is not open to any discussion or doubt. There has been one real bombardment of civilians, intended to break morale, not especially to kill civilians. It was undertaken by German and Italian aviators, not so much to kill Spaniards or break loyalist morale as to learn a lesson—how to murder Londoners or Parisians and break their morale in a future war. This raid or maneuver occurred at Barcelona on March 16, 17, and 18, 1938. As John Langdon-Davies, war correspondent of the London *News-Chronicle* in Spain, says, it was intended to solve a technical problem and also to see how far its solution would be valuable in a future war. It was a dress rehearsal for a bombing of civilians. That bombing has not yet come: neither London nor Paris nor Berlin has been bombed, and the reason perhaps lies in the lesson from Barcelona. Mr. Langdon-Davies reported:

> At eight past ten on the evening of March 16, 1938, the sirens of Barcelona sounded an alarm. Between that hour and 3:19 p.m., March 18, there

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Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"Now if you were only Finnish, sir, you could swoop down on Washington and take over the government all by yourself."

---

were thirteen air raids which produced destruction in every district of Barcelona and in the surrounding towns. The total casualties were about three thousand killed, five thousand hospital cases, and roughly twenty thousand minor injuries. . . . From the point of view of the Art of War the operation was the most satisfactory and potentially important. . . . The aim was not casualties but the creation of panic. . . . The raids were not designed to attack or destroy military objectives; indeed the technique deliberately employed made this impossible except by pure accident. . . .

The Germans and Italians, in order to bomb civilians and cause panic and thereby weaken morale and win a war, employed the technique of Silent Approach, followed by High Explosive. This is the technique they would use against London and Paris, which the British and French would use against Berlin, and which the Russians would use against Helsinki if they intended to bomb civilians and cause panic and a resultant shattering of morale. It is also the technique the War Department in Washington will use. It is the technique the American military experts in Barcelona described in their reports to the War Department.

The population density of most cities is about the same — outside New York and Chinese cities perhaps. For the square block in Barcelona there are about as many people as in London, Berlin, or Helsinki. The fascist aviators raiding Barcelona did not concentrate on a certain sector. Only a few planes came on many of the raids, and only a few bombs were dropped. But no one who has not lived through a high explosive bombing can imagine the horror of it, and the resultant panic in Barcelona was beyond description. And yet, although the objective was decidedly the bombing of civilians there was no intention to kill civilians. The main objective was to scare them. Concussion and noise actually achieved that objective, and killing was rather incidental. And yet there were 28,000 casualties: three thousand dead taken out of the ruined buildings, another five thousand severely wounded, many of whom died in the hospitals, and twenty thousand others wounded.

The Germans and Italians immediately ceased their attack. They could have continued it and forced a peace a year earlier for Franco, but they were not interested in that matter. What interested them was practice in war for use in the next war. It was a case of "pure research," as Langdon-Davies put it.

Every military observer, every war correspondent, everyone who knows anything at all about this terrible business knows that there is a difference between the bombing of military objectives, in which bombs may fall short or overreach their mark, and the bombing of civilians. Barcelona took shelter in the *refugios,* long prepared for such an attack—yet there were 28,000 casualties.

NOT IGNORANCE

Now, look back on the reports from Finland—the reports which the press used to whip up a hysteria throughout America. What do we find? That the first day's raids on Helsinki were first reported causing two hundred deaths, but later that figure was reduced; that the raids and machine-gunnings another day were listed officially as causing sixty-five deaths; that the bombings throughout the whole nation were alleged to have caused eighty-five deaths after four days.

The press knows that there was no bombardment of civilians, that if there had been one air raid against civilians the dead and wounded in Helskini, as in Barcelona, would have numbered more than a thousand. It knows that if the Soviet airmen had intended in all the reported raids to kill or to cause panic among civilians in Helsinki and other Finnish towns, the casualties would have exceeded 28,000 because there were more than thirteen raids. Every military man knows that one raid against civilians in Helsinki would have caused more casualties than all the raids in twenty cities in the whole thirty-one days of the bombings in Finland. Every newspaper knows that also.

It was the same in the World War. The *Lusitania* carried 5,200 cases of munitions, and Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York, so certified before the ship sailed. But the warmongers—notably the House of Morgan (as Senator Nye found out and reported in 1934) which wanted us to join France and Britain for financial reasons —did not mention the munitions. Yet the people who wanted peace were still in the majority, and it took two more years of propaganda and lies in the press to force us to join the crusade to make the world safe for democracy (sic).

Is warmongering history repeating itself?

One thing is certain: the press of the United States—and a large part of the world —is lying, just as it lied about the Soviet Union in the years 1917-21, and perhaps for the same reason: for the intervention by armed forces such as marked the first four years of Soviet history.

GEORGE SELDES.

This is the first of three articles by Mr. Seldes. The second will appear in next week's issue.

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Roosevelt Drives Toward War

AN EDITORIAL

THE bones of Woodrow Wilson must have stirred to an old familiar rhythm on Jan. 3, 1940. History was telescoped as his former assistant secretary of the navy, wrapped in Wilsonian piety, wielding the long-moldering Wilsonian phrases, addressed the Congress of the United States and set this country on Wilson's course—toward war.

We are not happy to record that President Roosevelt's message to the opening of the third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress fulfilled our worst forebodings. Nothing we could say is half as devastating as the comments of some of the leading capitalist political columnists. Wrote the pro-New Deal Raymond Clapper (New York *World-Telegram,* January 5):

> There was certainly a strong whiff of the old crusade for democracy in this message. Carefully the President stopped short of any talk of intervention—except in peacemaking—but he put the case for the Allies in such terms that when the deep crisis comes in Europe and the desperate phase of the fight is on, we are going to feel like slackers who are not doing our share. . . . It is Woodrow Wilson's issue of making the world safe for democracy come to life again in the second generation. . . .

"This nation will remain a neutral nation," President Roosevelt said in a radio address on September 3, immediately after the outbreak of the European war. On September 21 he told the special session of Congress: "Our acts must be guided by one single hardheaded thought—keeping America out of this war." Today he sounds a different note. *Within four months Roosevelt has moved to the position which it took Wilson two and a half years to reach—an eve-of-war position.* With more than ten million unemployed and a nationwide relief crisis developing (see Adam Lapin's article in this issue), with the great mass of farmers still forced to sell their products at prices far below what they must pay for industrial goods, with small business men everywhere unable to make ends meet, the President sends this New Year greeting to the nation: ". . . the only important increase in any part of the budget is the estimate for national defense. Practically all other important items show a reduction."

The Republicans applaud (even Mrs. Roosevelt noted in her "My Day" column how vigorously the Republican side of the house responded to this part of the President's message). The bankers applaud. The American people, who were assured two years ago by this same President that "I do not propose to let the people down," have been most callously let down.

The Roosevelt budget is a war budget. Counting the allocations for the War and Navy Departments included in the general public works program, appropriations for so-called national defense total $2,063,219,860—more than $300,000,000 above the sum being spent for this purpose in the present fiscal year. Roosevelt's domestic program, with its sharp reductions in funds for WPA (this is cut nearly 50 percent), farm aid, National Youth Administration, CCC, public works, highways, etc., has been geared to the central aim of preparing for rapid entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. This is the most reactionary, anti-social budget in the entire seven years of the Roosevelt administration. No wonder Gen. Hugh Johnson, long an enemy of the New Deal, is able to taunt the President (*World-Telegram,* January 6): "What has become of the militant leader who, on the eve of the 1936 elections, said of the 'forces of reaction' that in his first administration they had met their match and in his second, they would meet their master?"

The *Wall Street Journal* observed with satisfaction that the Roosevelt opening message "was notable in its lack of the fighting spirit which has characterized previous utterances of the Chief Executive." And Frank R. Kent, dourest of the tory columnists, wrote that the President's proposals "should have the support of the anti-New Deal Democratic and Republican coalition which in the last session frequently thwarted Mr. Roosevelt and took away control from the administration leaders."

Here is the true meaning of the national unity which Roosevelt demanded in his message—unity with Wall Street against the American people, unity with the warmongers against the peace of the United States.

Against whom is Roosevelt organizing his new world crusade for democracy? Raymond Clapper translated Roosevelt's lofty phrases into plain English as follows (*World-Telegram,* January 6):

> The emotional wave which swept the United States after the Bolsheviks attacked Finland broke the ice of our rigid sense of emotional isolation and indifference which had existed from the start of the war. Finland now takes the place of the Belgium of 1914. Democracy is at stake again. Are we feeling around, psychologically, to find again the road to war?

Signs abound that the answer, as far as the Roosevelt administration is concerned, is yes. That is why the administration has adopted the slogans of the shattered anti-Comintern axis in foreign affairs and of the un-American Dies committee at home, and has already launched a war against civil liberties.

But do the American people want this country to fight another Wall Street war? On the contrary, every recent poll shows that the people are even more overwhelmingly opposed to our involvement than they were at the outbreak of the imperialist war. This sentiment is beginning to make itself articulate. Appropriately, the youth—the recent conventions of the American Student Union and the National Student Federation are examples—are showing the way. The American Youth Congress has sent a letter to the President protesting the reduction in social expenditures and the increase of war funds. In Pennsylvania one hundred AFL and CIO leaders have issued a peace proclamation branding the European conflict a war "for the benefit of the rich at the expense of the laboring people," and demanding that we keep out. The CIO has likewise attacked the Roosevelt proposals and put forward a legislative program based on unwavering pursuit of peace and further social advance for the American people. In a New Year's message John L. Lewis epitomized the issue in these words:

> Within the new year, 1940, this nation will make decisions of profound importance to its future. It must decide whether it will listen to those who would divert attention from the difficulties of our internal problems and stake the nation's future on the vagaries of wars abroad. . . .
>
> Labor believes that the American people will vigorously reiterate their conviction that America's problems must and will be solved in this country by American methods, that we must steadfastly turn aside from giddy dreams of foreign ventures. The American people will, we believe, demand that those who are without work, food, and shelter shall not be abandoned.

In this crisis of world capitalism, when the peace, the living standards, and the liberties of America's millions are in peril, it is around principles such as this that real national unity of the vast majority of the common folk of our country needs to be forged.

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U. S. Budget for War—Not Relief

Social security is gone with the wind as Roosevelt lays war economy plans for the country. One step before the "cannon instead of butter" stage.

Washington.

"IN FORTY-FOUR situations flu, colds, pleurisy, and pneumonia and other lung conditions were reported in families where relief had been cut," the Cleveland Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers said in its study of 374 cases chosen at random from the sixteen thousand families which had been deprived of all forms of aid. "In one case a fifteen-year-old girl who is paralyzed was suffering from the lack of heat. . . . There were thirteen cases reported where cardiac conditions were aggravated by the insecurity resulting from the relief crisis." There is no way of summing up this story of how families try to live without heat, shelter, clothing, food, medical care. The impact of the report is cumulative.

Behind the tragedy of Cleveland is the breakdown of an entire relief system—federal, state, city. The suffering in Cleveland was perhaps most acute. But the breakdown of relief is taking place throughout the country. Soon there may be other Clevelands.

Federal and local relief systems are supposed to supplement each other. The President has repeatedly stated that the federal government has assumed responsibility for providing work relief to the employable unemployed. Direct relief is to be furnished by cities and communities, with the assistance of the states, to those who cannot work. Old age pensions and unemployment compensation programs are supposed to act as a backstop, giving the aged and the temporarily unemployed a degree of security and keeping them off the relief rolls.

IT DOESN'T WORK

This elaborate machinery is now creaking in every joint. WPA is not giving work relief to all the unemployed who are able and willing to work. States and cities are not taking care of home relief. The old age pension and unemployment compensation programs are woefully inadequate.

The relief slashes in the Woodrum act (passed at the last regular congressional session) helped precipitate the Cleveland crisis. In a few months the WPA rolls in Cleveland were reduced from more than 75,000 to about thirty thousand. With about $1,000,000,000 sliced from every form of aid to the unemployed, youth, and farmers to make room for armaments in the new Roosevelt budget, even more drastic cuts in relief must be expected in the months ahead.

It has become fashionable in administration circles to admit that an appropriation of somewhat less than $1,500,000,000 for WPA in 1937 helped precipitate the recession of that year. Secretary of Commerce Hopkins, who was then WPA administrator, beat his breast on this score a few days ago in his annual report to Congress. The President made the same point in his budget message. Strengthened by this confession of his error, the President is now proceeding to slash relief all over again but on a much more grandiose and disastrous scale.

After the 1937 debacle, WPA expenditures went up to about $2,250,000,000. Business began to pick up, and there were immediate demands from the right for another economy move. The President obliged. Last year he recommended to Congress a WPA appropriation of only $1,477,000,000. Representative Woodrum and his associates eagerly accepted this estimate, and spent their energies in wrecking the relief program with restrictions.

The ax fell suddenly and sharply. In July 1939 there were 2,500,000 persons on the rolls. With the average for the preceding fiscal year, which had just ended, at around three million, this represented a seasonal low. Two months later, at the beginning of September, there were only 1,661,000 left on the rolls. Because of the inadequate appropriation, and the provision in the Woodrum act requiring the discharge of all workers who had been on the rolls for eighteen months or over, more than 800,000 persons were thrown off in two months. At the end of December 1939 there were about 2,150,000 workers on WPA. The figure will rise slowly until it reaches a maximum of perhaps 2,300,000 in February. Then the cuts will start again, with a couple of hundred thousand being taken from the rolls each month in the spring. In June only 1,500,000 workers will be left.

If Congress approves the President's $1,000,000,000 budget estimate for the coming fiscal year, which represents a cut of $477,000,000, the downward trend begun in the Woodrum act will be sharply accentuated. As against the average of two million on the WPA rolls for the current fiscal year, the average, starting this July, will be only 1,350,000. This means that the rolls will be cut to less than a million during the summer of 1940 and the spring of 1941, and go up briefly to a maximum of perhaps two million during the winter.

There is no use even discussing the proposition that there will be only 1,350,000 employable unemployed workers during the coming year. The war boomlet of the last few months, together with the upturn which had already begun, absorbed only 1,250,000 jobless; everybody knows that they were not drawn primarily, or even to any appreciable extent, from the WPA rolls. Three to four non-relief unemployed workers are rehired by private industry for every WPA worker. There are still between nine and ten million unemployed.

Unemployed workers who should be on WPA are forced on home relief. But most of the large cities are somewhere near a state of actual bankruptcy. They went broke in 1930-33 when there was no federal relief of any sort. They do not have adequate funds to take care of home relief cases, not to speak of employables who should be provided for by the federal government.

State governments have for the most part not been particularly helpful in attempting to solve the relief problem. Usually they have not made sufficiently large contributions to the cities and communities. In some states, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New Jersey, Republican and reactionary Democratic politicians have been active in dismantling necessary social services and causing general disruption. But granting the state governments the best of intentions, they would have been hardpressed to take care of the employable workers fired by WPA, and they have been in no position to plan in advance to meet the drastic fluctuations of the WPA rolls.

RED TAPE

The relief situation would be serious enough even if there were a functioning, adequate social security system. But this of course is not the case. Workers usually have to wait several weeks and wade through a morass of red tape before they are taken care of by the state unemployment compensation setups. Benefits are too small and do not last long enough. So far workers have received only one dollar for every three collected. Many categories of workers are not provided for at all. In the absence of definite federal standards, the states are on the whole moving backward. The seriousness of the situation is perhaps best indicated by the fact that Bill Green was compelled to agree with John L. Lewis that something ought to be done. The inadequacies of the administration's old age pension program are too well known to need prolonged discussion. During 1940 a maximum of $100,000,000 will be paid out as against the $500,000,000 to be collected during the same year. That won't provide much ham and eggs for our senior citizens.

This is the way the relief perspective looks now during a period of industrial upturn—which is not absorbing the mass of the unemployed workers. But many government economists think that a sharp drop in production will take place during the first months of 1940; CIO analysts share this point of view. In his budget message the President admitted that he was basing his estimate on

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a continued upswing. Even if his predictions turn out to be correct, he is contributing toward a fall in purchasing power which will make itself felt in the consumer goods industries and in an eventual recession, and toward dependence of the economy on war industries and war trade. If he is incorrect, the mistake may be catastrophic.

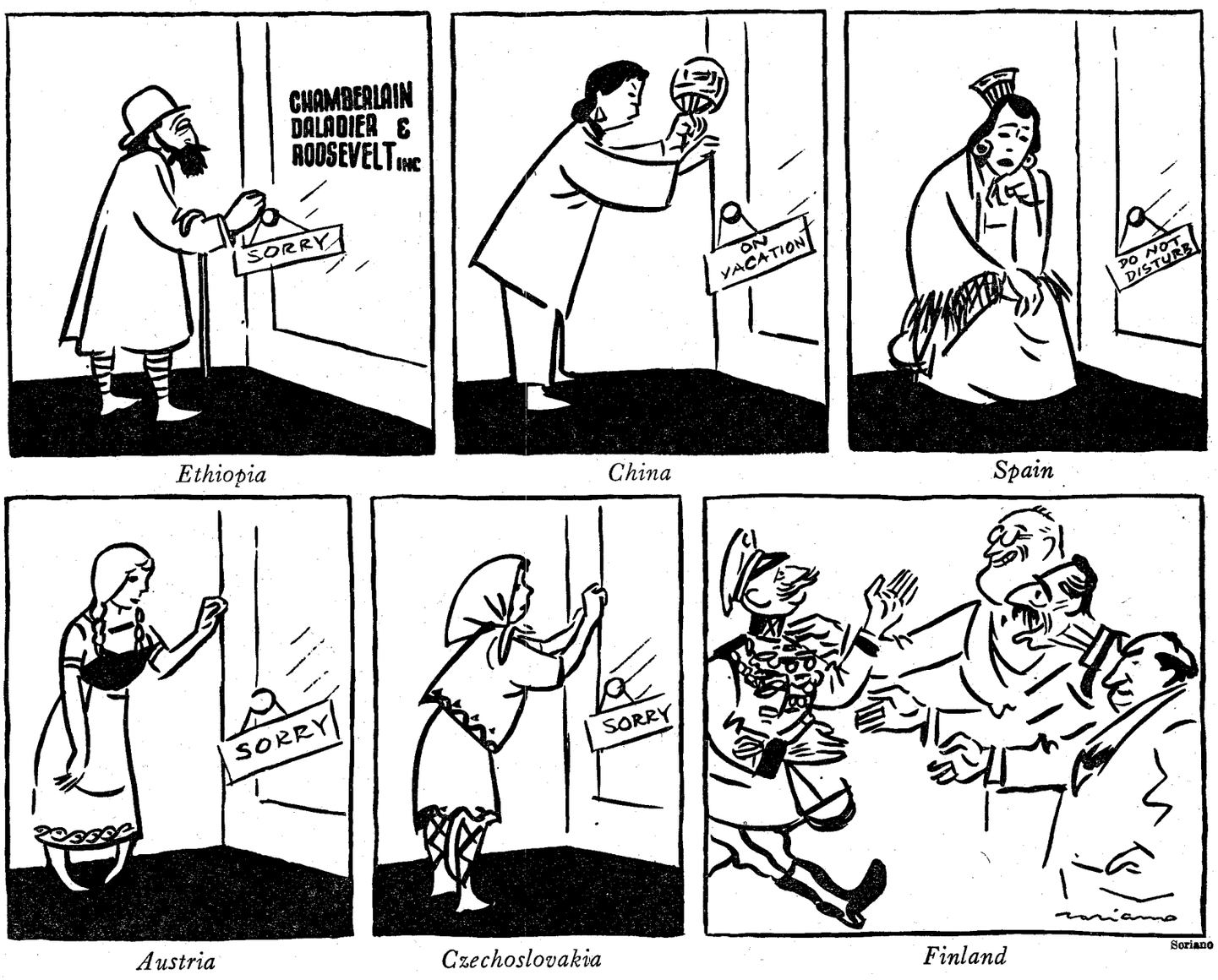
Most of the shortcomings in the relief setup and in the complementary unemployment compensation and old age pension programs which make the present situation so serious are not new. They have been accumulating and developing for some time. But it was possible to hope until recently that the administration would make some effort to overcome the defects in its program. The steps which had been taken were always inadequate, but they represented progress. WPA was never the Garden of Allah that Dorothy Thompson and Mark Sullivan made it out to be, but it was something.

What the new budget emphasizes is that such hopes can no longer be entertained. The hard facts of the budget come as a formal announcement of a point of view on the part of the administration which must be reckoned with from now on. The economy bloc boys and the budget balancers have found a new ally. The administration is moving toward a wartime economy, and has turned its back even on the dream of social security.

The first move to meet the relief crisis will come in the fight in Congress to boost the WPA appropriation. Despite the attitude of the administration, this attempt is by no means foredoomed to failure. In his budget message, the President left the door open for a revised relief estimate. The strategy apparently is to see how much the unemployed will take without an explosion, With a presidential election in the offing, the politicians will have to exercise a little caution. A recent survey by correspondents of Philadelphia papers disclosed that all of the Democratic congressmen from Pennsylvania were agreed that a much larger appropriation for WPA than was recommended by the President would be necessary. At best the majority of Pennsylvania Democrats in the House were never rip-roaring progressives. Their reaction is all the more interesting as an indication of the way the politicians read the minds of their constituents.

It won't be enough, however, to work for a larger WPA appropriation. The job of the unions and of the progressive organizations is to work out a comprehensive relief and social security program behind which the people can rally. The administration isn't going to do the job for them. The most rounded program so far has been proposed by the CIO, which advocates a work relief setup that will guarantee three million a $60-after-sixty old age pension, improvement of the unemployment compensation program, and extension of public works and low rent housing. Similar measures have been backed by the Workers Alliance, which is preparing to work out a detailed work and security program within the next few weeks. In addition, the Alliance has made the immediate suggestion of federal grants to aid those communities where the unemployed are not being provided for either by WPA or by home relief. The success of efforts such as these to meet the problem of unemployment and insecurity in a serious, planned way may determine whether the tragedy of Cleveland will become a commonplace in 1940 and 1941.

ADAM LAPIN.



Ethiopia *China* *Spain*

Austria *Czechoslovakia* *Finland*

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Those Alien and Sedition Acts Return

The attack on American democracy, started over a century ago, is revived in the same form by the Dies committee. The radical Irish. The second of two articles by Gale Thorne.

IN 1798, after the stage had been set with authentic early Dies pieces, the Federalists pushed through Congress the notorious Alien, Sedition, and Naturalization Acts. A hundred and forty-one years later, over one hundred "anti-alien" measures were introduced in the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress. On July 29, 1939, the House passed by an overwhelming vote a drastic omnibus "anti-alien" bill sponsored by Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, a "Democrat" whom Jefferson surely would never acknowledge. According to the New York *Times* for July 30, 1939, this bill was:

> . . . a virtual one-package edition of the most drastic provisions of the more than one hundred anti-alien bills which have been introduced during this session of Congress. . . . The measure was sent to the Senate by a roaring voice vote after a motion to recommit, offered by Rep. Vito Marcantonio, American Labor, of New York, had been smothered, 273 to thirty-eight.

The Senate failed to act on the bill because of lack of time for consideration before the session closed. There will be time enough at the present session. Representative Howard's bill, or others like it reposing in the back pockets of similar statesmen, will be "considered" in the super-charged atmosphere which has tensed the country since France and England actively engaged in the European war—an atmosphere intensified by the "sordid procedure" of the Dies committee.

SUPER-PATRIOTISM

Up to this point, the reactionaries have followed the strategy laid down by their Federalist predecessors. Super-patriotism is the Trojan horse which affords them access to the citadel of democratic liberties. In the guise of 200 percent Americanism, they direct their initial attacks against non-citizens, those members of the community least able to defend themselves. Once the freedom of "aliens" has been curtailed, some other minority group is singled out. The process of repression gains momentum with each fresh success. The democratic rights of the whole people are the objective, but it would be foolhardy to make a frontal assault. When a minority seeks to impose its will on the majority, the best strategy is to divide the ranks of its opponents and annihilate them separately.

Edward Livingston, leading the fight in Congress against the 1798 anti-alien bills, warned:

> . . . let no man vainly imagine that evil is to stop here, that a few unprotected aliens only are to be affected by this inquisitorial power. The same arguments which enforce those provisions against aliens, apply with equal strength to enacting them in the case of citizens.

The Naturalization Act increased the term of residence required for citizenship from five to fourteen years! It was aimed particularly at the Irish refugees who flocked to America in great numbers after the failure of the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Not that the Irish *per se* were necessarily objectionable, but, since most of them had the bad taste to join the democrats, the Federalists enjoined them to go back where they came from. Senator Uriah Tracy of Connecticut wrote home from Pennsylvania:

> In my lengthy journey through this state I have seen many, very many, Irishmen, and with a very few exceptions, they are United Irishmen, Free Masons, and the most God-provoking democrats on this side of Hell.

"We claimed the right to govern ourselves," said Fisher Ames, "and our patriots never contemplated the claim of the imported United Irish, that a mob should govern us." Harking wistfully back to the overworked founding fathers, he declared:

> Our forefathers immediately displayed a zeal and watchfulness, that the new society should be of the best sort, rather than of the largest size. Instead of building a Babel of wild Irish, Germans, and outlaws of all nations, such as would be suitable for a . . . . [deleted by the editor of Ames' works—probably an epithet for Jefferson] to govern, and such as would have preferred his government, they excluded not only foreigners, but immoral persons, from political power; and even from inhabitancy.

Ames' tolerance was typical of his party, which had striven valiantly to live down the Declaration of Independence. And far be it from him to admit that many a forefather came to America straight from an English jail.

NO WILD IRISHMEN

Harrison Gray Otis, another Federalist congressman from Massachusetts, wrote to his wife, "If some means are not adopted to prevent the indiscriminate admission of wild Irishmen & others to the right of suffrage, there will soon be an end to liberty & property." Anxious to do his bit for "liberty & property," he made a violent speech in Congress for a proposed bill to clap a $20 tax on certificates of naturalization. "I do not wish to invite hordes of wild Irishmen, nor the turbulent and disorderly of all parts of the world, to come here with a view to disturb our tranquillity, after having succeeded in the overthrow of their own governments," he declaimed. His oration, which became famous as "Otis' Wild Irish Speech," created a furore, but not altogether the kind of sensation its author had anticipated. He received one answer, entitled "An Irish Epistle to H. G. Otis," which contained this verse:

> Young man. We would have you remember
> While we in this country can tarry,
> The "Wild Irish" will choose a new member
> And will ne'er vote again for *young Harry.*

The more ardent Federalists were not even satisfied with the stringent provisions of the Naturalization Act as it stood. Robert Goodloe Harper, eminent Federalist lawyer, maintained that "the time is now come when it will be proper to declare that nothing but birth shall entitle a man to citizenship in this country." In line with this noble sentiment, bills were introduced in Congress to restrict the rights of citizenship to natives and to bar persons of foreign birth from holding public office. The opposition was strong enough to defeat them.

DEFINITION OF TREASON

The Alien Act empowered the President to deport at his own discretion any alien he might consider dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or engaged "in treasonable and secret machinations" against the government, meaning the government's Federalist administration. Those who were in a position to know claimed that it was aimed at Albert Gallatin, among others, but it was surely designed to cover a multitude of sins which might inadvertently be committed by some unlucky member of Jefferson's party. Adams did not make use of his powers under this dictatorial law. He had headaches enough with the enforcement of the Sedition Act.

The Sedition Act imposed a fine not exceeding $2,000 and imprisonment not exceeding two years on anyone who should:

> Write, print, utter, or publish . . . any false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States or the President of the United States, with intent . . . to bring them . . . into contempt or disrepute.

As originally introduced in the Senate, the bill declared that the people of France were the enemies of the United States and any support of their cause or attempt to give them aid and comfort was treason, punishable by death. This extraordinary clause against a nation with which we were not at war was finally stricken out. Its retention would have simplified matters for the ruling clique, since under it Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, and thousands of less known persons might have been hanged.

Indictment under the Sedition Act was followed by convictions as monotonously as day follows night. Packed juries and partisan

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judges were an unbeatable combination. Cases were tried in federal courts; in this instance, federal meant Federalist. The judges and the marshals were all Federalists, and, since the marshals at that time were permitted to choose jurors, the jurors were Federalists too.

Considering that there were few newspapers at that period and fewer still were democratic, the arrest and indictment of ten editors and printers was a pretty ambitious procedure. The Federalists were out to make the most of their opportunity while it lasted. William Duane, editor of the *Aurora,* was indicted for seditious writings. He had been active in securing signatures on petitions for the repeal of the act and had campaigned against it in the columns of his newspaper. Col. Leven Powell wrote to Major Burr Powell on March 26, 1800, from Philadelphia, where the Senate was serving as an enlarged committee on un-American activities:

> The Senate has had Duane before them for publishing false, scandalous & seditious falsehoods with respect to them; his insolence was to be sure intolerable. Report says this evening that he has fled, whether it is the case or not I cannot tell, but I believe they will obtain a victory over him, for notwithstanding all his whining that he was about to fall a victim for his Steady Support of Liberty, and Republicanism, he finds but few here disposed to support him. . . .

Duane didn't flee, but he should have, for he was beaten up by Federalist-incited hoodlums. Democratic citizens rallied to his defense, and the *Aurora* offices were constantly guarded lest the attacks be repeated.

Matthew Lyon, democratic congressman from Vermont, was also indicted, for publishing an anti-administration pamphlet. He conducted his own defense before a notoriously partisan judge and was sentenced to four months in jail "and to pay a fine of $1,000 with costs of persecution [sic] taxed at $60.96." The democrats organized a campaign to raise funds for his bail, and the plain people throughout the country contributed every penny they could spare. The sum so collected represents a sort of yardstick of popular indignation. Although the population of the entire country (5,308,483) was less than that of New York City today, and money was even scarcer than it is now, $100,000 was raised, an awesome amount in those days. The court, however, was not impressed, and bail was denied. Lyon was lodged in the Vergennes jail, denied writing materials, and informed that if he found the November nights chilly, he could furnish his own stove. While he was in jail, his constituents expressed their protest against this home-grown tyranny by reelecting him to Congress. His release at the expiration of his sentence was the occasion for celebration among the people. A broadside printed at Bennington to mark the event shows their understanding of the issues:

> The freedom of speech, to discuss and debate
> On the deeds of our servants who govern the state,
> We'll never resign to the sticklers for power,
> Though courtiers and sycophants frown and look sour.

Even in Massachusetts, where the Federalists exercised such rigid control, one Boston newspaper openly opposed the Alien and Sedition Acts. Retaliation was swift. The editor, Thomas Adams, was sick in bed, so the bookkeeper, Abijah Adams, was indicted and sentenced to thirty days in jail. The paper continued to appear, nevertheless, stubbornly announcing that it would uphold the cause of liberty.

Others besides editors, of course, were victims of the Sedition Act. A New Jersey democrat was fined, on the occasion of the firing of a cannon salute in honor of President Adams, for wishing aloud that the gunwadding might hit that gentleman in a sensitive portion of his anatomy. A citizen of Dedham, Mass., one John Lovejoy, was jailed for putting up a liberty pole with this inscription:

> Liberty and Equality!
> The Vice President [Jefferson] and the Minority!
> A speedy Retirement to the President!
> No Sedition Bill! No Alien Bill!
> Downfall to the Tyrants of America!

The democrats worked as tirelessly for repeal of these arbitrary laws as did the Federalists for convictions. Whenever the people flocked into the towns on market days or for special occasions, they organized protest meetings, and introduced denunciatory resolutions. Petitions for repeal were circulated from farm to farm and from shop to shop. When Congress reconvened, enormous rolls containing thousands of signatures from every state were presented. These were referred to a Select Committee of the House, which, after due deliberation, reported that repeal was not in the interest of the public welfare. The Federalist majority had determined to accept the committee report. Gathered in noisy groups on the House floor, coughing, laughing, and talking at the tops of their voices, they made it impossible for the opposition to be heard. The Federalist speaker, Theodore Sedgwick, refused to call for order. Despite pleas from the democrats for more time so that other members might have their say, the report was railroaded through on the same day.

Heedless of the disorders created everywhere by the Alien and Sedition Acts, the "party of law and order" obstinately defended them. John Jay not only approved them but wanted the Constitution amended to include these measures. Oliver Wolcott, Adams' secretary of the treasury, pompously stated, "Those to whom the management of public affairs is now confided cannot be justified in yielding any established principles of law or government to the suggestion of modern theory." This may seem slightly irrelevant, but it was evidently considered the administration's last word on the whole matter.

The Harvard historian, Samuel Eliot Morrison, has thus characterized the Alien and Naturalization Acts:

> Designed primarily not for defense against a foreign power, but for offense against the democratic party, they were calculated to rob that party of an important element of its vote, and to make political opposition to Federalism a crime. . . . Seldom has so barefaced an attempt to injure a political party been made in Congress.

Of the Sedition Act Morrison said: "It stands out unparalleled in American legislation as a thinly disguised attempt to treat political opposition as a crime, and to stamp criticism of a party as sedition." Most historians agree with him, and some consider that the Alien and Sedition Acts marked the beginning of the end of Federalism.

The people of the United States could not wait for the calm verdict of history. They woke up in time to see through the smokescreen of Jacobin plots and French scares to the native despotism which was their immediate peril. Their answer was given at the polls in 1800 when they voted for the arch-plotter and Jacobin-in-chief, Thomas Jefferson.

At the age of seventy-three, Jefferson summed up a lifetime of subversive activities in two simple sentences: "I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom."

GALE THORNE.

How's That, Mr. Matthews?

J. B. MATTHEWS, research director of the Dies committee, recently exposed the Red menace at work chewing up advertising. Here are two quotes from Mr. Matthews on the subject. The first is from his book *Partners in Plunder,* written before his gratifying association with Mr. Dies:

> Advertising, in its spirit and purpose, is germinal fascism. Hitler was the first European politician who saw the significance of the techniques of commercial advertising for politics. In *Mein Kampf* he used the distinctly commercial word "Reklame"—advertising—to describe his political method. Advertising is more than sales ballyhoo; it is a form of social organization which utilizes the most modern mechanical contrivances for a regimentation that is both commercial and political.

The second is from the Dies committee report:

> Advertising performs an indispensable function in mass production economy, and as an economic process, wholly apart from questions which have to do with good or bad advertising copy, is as essential a part of the distributive mechanism as are railroads and retail outlets.

And the same hot-headed J. B. Matthews goes a good deal further in the same book on the subject of business:

> In business, plunder is of the essence. The springs of thought as well as the sources of physical life for the masses are poisoned when poisoning is profitable, adulterated when adulteration is profitable, and otherwise exploited in ways that blight and despoil.
>
> Business is a series of frauds, utilizing methods, both in production and distribution, which are indistinguishable in spirit and effects, from the practices of gangsterism.

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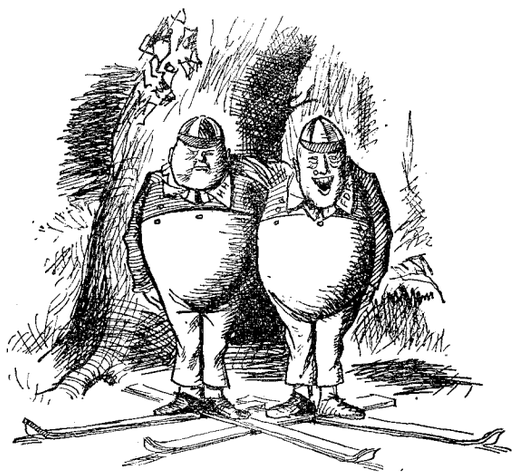
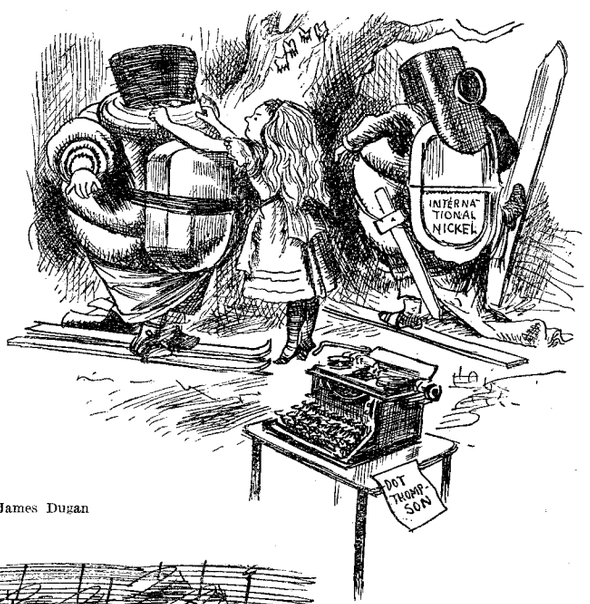


"We *must* have a bit of a fight, but I don't care about going on long," said Tweedledumb to Tweedle F. D.



Drawings by James Dugan

"There's only one sword, you know," Tweedledumb said to his brother, "but you can have the umbrella—it's quite as sharp. Only we must begin quick. It's getting dark as can."

"I like the walrus best," said Alice, "because you see he was a *little* sorry for the poor oysters."

"He ate more than the carpenter, though," said Tweedle F. D.

"If *that* doesn't drum them out of town," she thought to herself, "nothing ever will."

Jabber-Jabber

A Reassuring Fairy Tale

'Twas Finnig, and the Mannerheims
  Did wardebt for a USish loan:
All weepsy were the Chamberlains,
  And the Wall Streets outgroan.

"Beware the Soviet, my son!
  The Reds that plot, the plots that hatch!
Beware the Bolo bird, and shun
  The imperialistic Stalinsnatch!"

He took his Leagueal blade in hand:
  Long time the Moscow foe he sought—
So rested he by the Hangoe tree,
  Retreating while he thought.

And, as in Rytish thought he stood,
  The Soviet, with eyes of flame,
Came cominterning through the wood,
  And Lenined as he came!

Two, three! Two, three! By land and sea
  The Leagueal blade went Hali-fax!
He left it dead (or so he said)
  And went Helsinking back.

"And hast thou slain the Soviet?
  Come to my arms, my dupish boy!
O British day! Daladier!"
  He Hoovered in his joy.

'Twas Tanner, and the Kallios
  Did hand out wartales wondrous tall:
All whimsy were the inkbrigades,
  And the newscasts outbawl.

With apologies to one who knew nonsense when he saw it

JOHN LORING.

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Action on the Northern Front

Major Allen Johnson reports on the military operations in Finland and the tactics of the Red Army in supporting the Finnish People's Government.

THE immediate political aim of the USSR in Finland is to drive out the Mannerheim-Kallio-Ryti regime of "bankers and business men," as the London *Daily Telegraph* calls it, so that the People's Government can reestablish democracy for the Finnish people. The strategic objectives following from this are: (1) to prevent the arrival of supplies and assistance to the White Guard Finns; (2) to break their resistance.

In facing the tactical problems involved in this campaign the Soviet and Finnish People's Army troops must consider the following facts: (1) The frontier line from the Gulf of Finland to Petsamo Fjord is about a thousand miles long. (2) This frontier is serrated by thousands of lakes and the entire country is covered with heavy timber. (3) The northern sectors have few roads and no railroads. (4) The Karelian SSR has only the Murmansk Railway and a few connecting roads to use as the main artery of transportation. Taken as a whole, especially with the bitter sub-zero weather, this entire front is not a favorable military objective. In fact this terrain is about the most difficult in the world and this winter campaign is the most difficult that has ever been undertaken under similar circumstances.

The Soviet General Staff decided to carry out its strategic aims by blockading the Gulf of Finland. But since the Finns hold the Aland Islands and have been aided by Swedish reactionaries, the difficulties of entering into the Gulf of Bothnia have rendered the sea blockade incomplete. On the land side the Soviet intends to cut Finland off from her railway connections with Sweden (her main source of supplies and "volunteer" aid) by driving down from the Petsamo Peninsula along the only good highway to Tornea (1 on map) and by driving across the waist of Finland on a Kandalskaya-Salla-Tornea line (2). A third drive for the same purpose is in progress from the Repola sector on a Suomussalmi-Uleaborg line (3); this drive roughly follows the railway line from Nurmes to Uleaborg. The success of any one of these drives will assure the success of the others. This will split Finland in half, cut her off from her land communications, and permit Uleaborg to be used as the starting point for a new drive down into the industrial and more heavily populated areas of southern Finland. It will also give the Soviet-Finnish troops the advantage of better roads and the use of the railways.

In the southern sectors, however, lies the greatest concentration of troops. Soviet troops have crossed the frontier into Finland throughout the Repola sector from Sortavala north to Suomussalmi (4). Here the Soviet forces will eventually outflank the Finnish White Guard troops along the Mannerheim Line, taking Viborg and permitting rapid movement along well developed arteries of communication to Helsinki and the interior. In the south the Finnish reactionaries have long had excellent position defenses. The Mannerheim (Kirk?) Line (5) is not so much a line of defense as an organized position in depth. Thus the fact that the Soviet forces have penetrated it in several places does not immediately mean that the line of defense has been broken; there are still new defenses to be taken. The Soviet staff will not attempt any wild assaults upon such defenses because the expenditure of life will not be warranted. In all probability methods of infiltration will be tried across the frozen surface of Lake Ladoga while coordinated flanking attacks are carried forward in the direction of Sortavala and the railway.

Fighting north of Suomussalmi is in the nature of guerrilla warfare on both sides. Most probably, there are no more than three Finnish divisions (approximately 45,000 men) from Suomussalmi north to Petsamo, while the Soviet has hardly twice that. There is no line here and it is quite possible that patrols will cross into each other's territory without even coming into contact. In warfare of this sort, spread over hundreds of miles in such adverse weather conditions, small troop units operate from block houses. The columns moving across Finland will have to construct their own roads and bring forward their own supplies as they proceed. This will mean a steady, well prepared advance without any fanfare and in the face of innumerable obstacles.

NOT BLITZKRIEG

It is necessary to state that the Red Army tactic has nothing in common with *Blitzkrieg*. The policy as enunciated in the Field Training Regulations of the Red Army is that an offensive must be carefully prepared to permit the proper integration and use of all arms, that the offensive itself must be steadily pushed forward with *increasing* strength as the thrust goes deeper. The Red Army staff understands that the deeper the thrust goes the greater will be the resistance. It therefore expects to put forth its greatest effort at this point, not only to defeat the enemy but to destroy him throughout his dispositions.

The naval and air forces of the Soviet have had independent missions throughout the operations—to destroy the centers of resistance in the rear, to dislocate the transportation system, and to prevent the free passage of men and supplies from Sweden to the front. Actually the civilians have been evacuated from the threatened centers; today there are merely the necessary elements to handle supplies for the White Guard forces at the front in the cities of Viborg and Helsinki. Finland's airforces are very small and even with the planes that may be given her by reactionary supporters abroad she cannot overcome the Soviet air superiority.

There have been very few serious engagements. This is proved by the fact that after three weeks of fighting both sides officially reported about the same casualties—approximately two thousand killed and ten thousand wounded. The fantastic American press reports of Soviet troops killed and wounded are more fantastic in view of the fact that these have all been reported in the central and northern sectors where the fighting is hardly of the sort to justify wild surmises. There will be more serious engagements in the near future, however; the winter war is not over as the Finns are reported saying.

RATIO OF FORCES

Since the ice has frozen hard on the lakes the Red Army's transport problem is less difficult. In addition the proportion of Finnish troops to Soviets is about twelve to twenty-five divisions, roughly two to one in the Red Army's favor. Since these twelve divisions are about all the Finns can put in the field, any casualties they suffer mean much more to them than similar casualties mean to the Red Army. Further, the Finnish troops, especially in the north, can be getting very little relief and rest. All these factors will soon begin to tell; they will vitally aid the impending drive to terminate the war.

Wall Street's investments in the International Nickel Co. and the American newspaper publishers' need for Finnish paper pulp have played no little part in the press' hysterical support of Britain's long-range intervention program against the USSR. The second imperialist war has started where the first left off. An increasingly bad press may be expected with regard to Soviet military and political actions. Should the fall of White Guard Finland appear imminent it is possible that Scandinavia will intervene directly. This would convert the Finnish incident into a major theater of war, particularly if the Allies and the USA support the activities of the Swedish reactionaries and their Social Democratic bootlickers. Meanwhile, caution must be used in accepting the reports of the typewriter tacticians, whose knowledge of war is limited to what they are permitted to read in the handouts from the propaganda bureaus of reactionary juntas in Helsinki, Oslo, Stockholm, and Copenhagen.

MAJOR ALLEN JOHNSON.

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SOME OBJECTIVES IN FINLAND. *The highway to Tornea (1) brings Swedish and Italian "volunteers" to aid Mannerheim as well as equipment to be used against the Finnish People's Government and the Red Army. The Soviet plans to cut it by driving across the Kandalskaya-Salla-Uleaborg line (2). A third drive in the campaign is going on via the Suomussalmi-Uleaborg route (3). In the south, Soviet troops have crossed through the Repola sector from Sortavala north to Suomussalmi (4). No wild assaults, wasting men, will be taken against the fortified positions of the Mannerheim-Kirk Line (5).*

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Haldane on the Nobel Prizemen

The scientific prizes for 1939 assayed by the noted English bio-geneticist and Marxist.

EVERY year the Nobel prize award committee in Stockholm gives prizes for chemistry, physics, medicine, literature, and peace. The prize money is derived from the profits made in the manufacture of explosives. Although there may have been occasional mistakes, it is generally admitted that in most cases the scientific prizes have been justly awarded.

The 1939 prize for chemistry is divided between Adolph Butenandt of Berlin and Leopold Ruzicka of Zurich, for their work on sex hormones. These substances are responsible, among other things, for the changes which occur in men and animals at puberty. Thousands of years ago, probably in the neolithic age, it was discovered that if male animals were castrated, they did not develop normally. They are almost always tamer, and in some cases very different in appearance. Anyone can tell an ox from a bull.

But only in this century has the process been reversed, so that a boy who has not developed normally can sometimes be enabled to do so. Gallagher and Koch in Chicago concentrated a substance from bulls' testicles which would make the combs of capons, castrated roosters, grow again. Their preparations were active. But they were not pure, any more than beer is pure alcohol, or opium pure morphine. Butenandt was the first to obtain a substance of this kind in pure form, and determine its chemical composition. Ruzicka did the same with other gland secretions which have similar effects. In addition they have worked on the substances which play a like part in the female sex, both in connection with puberty and pregnancy.

A BLOW FOR QUACKS

Thanks to Ruzicka, these substances can be made in a factory by the transformation of much commoner substances. There is now no need to work up ten tons of male urine, as Butenandt did, in order to obtain a fraction of an ounce of one of them. Ruzicka has also worked on synthetic perfumes and many other topics in organic chemistry. Now that these substances have been isolated, there is no excuse whatever for treating human beings with ill-defined extracts of animal "sex glands," as they are described in advertisements. The pure hormones are far from being cure-alls, but are definitely useful in some cases.

Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence of California got the physics prize for his work on atomic nuclei. Rutherford first showed that these are sometimes transformed, so that one element is turned into another, in very small quantities, of course. His pupils Cockcroft and Walton accomplished this process by artificial means. In an electric field of about half a million volts they got the nuclei of hydrogen atoms moving so quickly that they actually penetrated those of other elements and united with them. Thus nitrogen atoms were formed from carbon, and so on.

Lawrence invented an apparatus called the cyclotron, which, for some purposes at least, is more efficient than Cockcroft's and Walton's apparatus. Many of the new types of atom formed with its use are strongly radioactive. Some of them seem likely to be of as much value as radium emanation in treating cancer. Others are being used to solve biological problems in another way.

Biologists have long wanted to know how quickly the substance of our bodies is replaced. For example, are the bones of an adult composed of the same atoms when he is sixty years old as when he finishes growth at twenty? If you feed an adult rat with sodium phosphate containing radioactive phosphorus you soon find some in his bones. This means that the bones are constantly exchanging atoms with the blood. In other words, during life the form of the bones is not like that of the parts of a machine, but is kept steady by means of constant change, like the form of a candle flame or a waterfall.

The prize for medicine went to Dr. Gerhard Domagk, who works for the Interessengemeinschaft der Farbenindustrie, the great German chemical monopoly. He found that a red dye called prontosil, made by Miesch and Klarer of the same firm, would cure mice of infections which would otherwise have killed them.

ANTISEPTICS

All antiseptics are somewhat poisonous to men and animals, some of them very much so. Mercuric chloride and iodine are all very well for disinfecting cuts, but if swallowed, they will kill a man long before they kill all the germs of disease in his body. Prontosil and other drugs of similar composition, such as sulfanilamide and sulfapyridine, are dangerous, and have killed a few people. But they have been extremely successful against puerperal fever, pneumonia, gonorrhea, and some kinds of meningitis.

Ewins and other workers employed by the British firm of May & Baker have produced a particularly useful remedy related to prontosil. But it is impossible at present to say which of the competing drugs of this group will finally be used. Some of the best are very expensive, because they are protected by patents. Hence doctors may prefer to use a less efficient drug which costs less because it cannot be patented. This means a sacrifice of life to profits which is inevitable so long as research on drugs is carried out by firms, and not by hospitals or government laboratories.

It is worth noting that two prizes were given to Germans, although when the peace prize was given to Carl von Ossietsky some years ago, the Nazis objected, and stated that in future they would give their own prizes. Both Butenandt and Domagk are organic chemists, concerned with the patterns in which atoms are arranged. The Jewish chemists in Germany were most successful in studying chemical changes: either in the factory, like Haber, who showed them how to fix atmospheric nitrogen in 1914-18, and thus prolonged the war; or in living beings, as did Warburg, who found out how cells breathe.

German science has suffered severely from the Nazi dictatorship, and will suffer worse in future, because the supply of young men and women has been severely cut down. But especially in the field of organic chemistry, a number of first-rate men still remain.

J. B. S. HALDANE.

A Scientific Arm

Professor Haldane, besides talking politically to workers and writing for the London "Daily Worker," is also active in the defense of Great Britain's people as this poem which appeared originally in the English "New Statesman and Nation" shows.

"What, teacher, can that object be inside a plate-glass drum?"
"It is Prof. Haldane whom you see, testing a vacuum."
"Why are they hurling bombs so near that shelter made of tin?"
"That is a bombproof test, I hear, Prof. Haldane is within."
"Oh, look! From yon balloon so high what dangles large and limp?"
"It is Prof. Haldane, we espy, air testing from a blimp."
"See driving near the waterside that buoy of strange design!"
"That is Professor Haldane, tied, decoying of a mine.
"On sea, on shore and in the air, protecting us from harm,
"Prof. Haldane meets us everywhere—our scientific arm."

SAGITTARIUS.

Sic Transit Ginsberg

"GEN. WALTER G. KRIVITSKY, former Soviet Russian military intelligence chief in Western Europe, fled with his wife and son, Alexander, from the United States on Tuesday, federal officials disclosed yesterday, less than a week from the time he was to have been deported for having overstayed his leave. Neither the Krivitskys' destination nor their means of transportation was divulged."—*N. Y. "Herald Tribune," Dec. 30.*

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A Toledo Christmas Carol

Mr. Addison Thatcher, the Toledo Dives, gives Lazarus and his brothers a handout and the bum's rush.

Toledo.

TO THE hungry of Toledo, the electric berries aglow on yuletide shrubbery fronting the city's more ornate residences were less bright than a canvas sign over Addison Thatcher's gymnasium on Cherry Street. Mr. Thatcher was inviting the world to Christmas dinner.

It is not known why Addison Thatcher's heart beats so tenderly over the plight of Toledo's poor. That he is a wily politician and has only recently been reelected to Council by an overwhelming vote has little to do with it, he says. "This dinner has been an annual affair now for twenty-nine years. My political career dates back but ten," Mr. Thatcher explains.

I was among those who shoved into the line that ran the length of the food counter in the shadowy hall, crowded with hundreds of hungry men and women. The sign outside said there would be no questions asked: hunger can be a song without words. If anyone thought up questions it was the guests. One read plenty of them in their eyes, agleam with painful curiosity in each other's fate—understood so well without the interposition of verbal questions. Everyone betrayed a slight shyness over his presence at this joyless festival which Toledo holds but once a year.

NO LOITERING

In the crowd were many well dressed individuals sidling into line, fingering a plate off the heap of dishes and digging into the racks for knife and fork. The counter women in white kitchen aprons besmeared with gravy and meat stains were kindly and apologetic when I got there—the meat was gone, and all they could now dish out was the fatty remnants that thickened the gravy for two slices of white bread spread out on each plate. No one whimpered. In fact, everyone appeared grateful, for it was rumored that an unsated guest would have the chance to line up for a second helping, even a third or a fourth. It did not matter to Mr. Thatcher as long as guests were eating and showed no signs of lingering about the radiators. Outside the day was graying to a hard wintriness and there was a sharp feel of snow in the wind rushing down on Cherry Street. If anyone loitered, Mr. Thatcher whisked over to one of his sweepers and soon the sweeper was on his way to clear the hall of surplus human debris. It was clear that Mr. Thatcher would respect his guests till they had been fed; after that, it was "outside, boys . . . no loafing here. . . ."

With this slot-machine slickness of service it was obvious why the dinner lacked a flavor of cigars and ice-cream. The papers reported there had been ice-cream for the earlier comers, but no one among those seated on the backless benches at the long tables laid with brown wrapping paper (guests used their coatsleeves for napkins) was able to attest to the actual presence of ice-cream at the feast. Salt was served in large bowls and the diners pinched it out with thumb and forefinger.

The table d'hote was mashed potatoes, boiled carrots, sauerkraut, and an overspread of gravy. One might reach for a cup later and stop one of the java-pourers wandering among the tables.

MR. THATCHER

The meal was downed amid a crushing lack of levity. Perhaps the gloom that inundated the hall from the row of high windows, through which the late afternoon filtered a smudgy light, had something to do with it. There was no hilarious flaw in the solemn mechanism that operated so efficiently from the women dishing out the meals to the sweepers sweeping out the diners who had eaten. One wished for something to occur—something silly, belly-quaking. But there was only Mr. Thatcher himself, millionaire, councilman, and philanthropist, a graying, hard-craniumed gentleman with hawk-like eyes and the politician's hand reaching out with professional smoothness into any other hand extended along his path. His casual words of welcome induced the diners to linger beyond their wonted time—until Mr. Thatcher had vanished in his office, leaving the subject of his pleasant address to the brusque attentions of the sanitary squad.

But Mr. Thatcher was decidedly unfunny. One of his fingers flashed a noisy diamond. He threw off prosperity like a heavy perfume. Miraculous as water-walking was his gallivanting, unsoiled, across this cesspool of economic misfortune. Most probably he had a Christmas party of his own on somewhere, for he betrayed signs of being in a hurry as he wound among the diners.

Most of the diners, white and colored, were clad in ragged mufti with seams that were all too hospitable to the snarling winds outside. Their faces were sullen, unadorned with gratitude. The food was well cooked and fittingly relished with many an aftersmack between the final bolt of mashed potato and the first gulp of dubious coffee that washed it down. The wind-chapped faces, ploughed with the heavy weather-lines of truckdrivers or lake pilots, bent cheerlessly over their platters. Their eyes lifted toward the filmy light seeping in from the windows, a prison-sad light, and the snow now crackling like popcorn on the window panes. They decided on a second cup of coffee before buttoning up against the unknown. There was little comment on the food from persons whose artillery of description is all of the negative variety picked up in transient houses and handout refectories of our surplus-ridden land.

The cost of the meal to Mr. Thatcher comes to 10 cents a plate. Since feeding the hungry once a year is one of his longstanding hobbies—much as greyhound racing or book collecting is to people of more elaborate culture—one is not disposed to be unkind toward him. Certainly the meal warmed many a stomach into feeling the good old days were back again.

At four, the dinner was over. Late callers kicked vainly on the door, freezing their hands on the great brass knobs. It was evident from their number that not all of the city's hungry were to be Christmas-fed. But thirteen thousand meals were served. The diners, drawing their sleeves across their mouths like violin bows, snuggled inside their coats and, outside the door, drew up their faces against the razor-like winds. Many, vanishing toward the city's less reputable quarters, were gone once more into the realm of Republican myth. The city would scarcely know of their existence again until Mr. Thatcher's invitation beckoned them back into the flesh next December. Doubtless, Governor Bricker will continue to insist these folks are ghosts. But these ghosts showed they could shiver in a sub-zero wind. One of them dabbed a tentative hand out into it, and said, "By golly, it'll soon be nearly as cold as Mr. Bricker's heart. . . ."

ED FALKOWSKI.

Democratic General

GEN. KURT MARTTI WALLENIUS, commander of the Finnish armies on the central and north Finland front, is an old hand at the kind of "Finnish democracy" the press finds praiseworthy. In 1930, General Wallenius was chief of General Staff and a leader of the fascist "Lapua" movement, which was severely criticized by the former Finnish president, Dr. Kaarlo Juho Stahlberg. So General Wallenius and his gang kidnapped the aged president and his wife, for which he was sentenced to three years in prison. Now Baron Mannerheim, a "fellow-democrat," has put him in charge of the northern army as a democratic example to the fighters.

Einstein on Intellectuals

IN AN exchange with Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein once made the following remark on the treason of some intellectuals:

Is it possible to control man's evolution so as to make him proof against the psychoses of hate and destructiveness? Here I am thinking by no means of the so-called uncultured masses. Experience shows that it is rather the so-called "intelligentsia" that is most apt to yield to these disastrous collective suggestions, since the intellectual has no contact with life in the raw, but encounters it in its easiest, synthetic form—upon the printed page.

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William Gropper

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NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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Neutrality Violations

MOST NEW MASSES readers won't remember it, but on March 1, 1915, Prime Minister Asquith told the British Parliament:

> We are not going to allow our efforts to be strangled in a network of juridical niceties . . . under existing conditions, there is no form of economic pressure to which we do not consider ourselves entitled to resort.

That was the answer to Bryan's effort to maintain America's position as a neutral, efforts which Walter Hines Page sabotaged as though he were on the Bank of England's payroll. The difference between 1915 and 1940 seems to lie in the comparative feebleness of Cordell Hull's notes to England; whether Kennedy works for England or the USA hardly matters. Two weeks ago, the United States corralled Latin American nations to protest violations of the safety belt; nothing yet has been heard from London. Last week Cordell Hull whispered another protest, this time on the repeated British seizures of American mail en route to Germany and neutral nations. The Eleventh Hague Convention specifically states: "The postal correspondence of neutrals or billigerents, whatever its official character may be, found on the high seas on board a neutral or enemy ship, is inviolable." Yet the Allies who prate about the restoration of law and order in Central Europe violate international law when it suits their purpose. Quite appropriately, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for January 4 commented editorially: "Imagine for a moment what the feeling would be in this country if German submarines made a practice of stopping and boarding neutral ships, and censoring or throwing out American mail. Yet parallel action by the British has brought only mild protest."

Even more alarming is the State Department's revelation of its note of December 14 in which it is disclosed that the American steamer *Mormacsun,* one of four sold to Brazil, was stopped on its way to Bergen, Norway, and hauled into Kirkwall, England. Our Neutrality Act delineated a war zone in which American citizens must not travel. Now the British are compelling American seamen to do what the law of their country forbids.

But the fact that the *Mormacsun* had been sold without public knowledge to Brazil dramatizes a deeper hypocrisy. For the State Department is winking at the nullification of the spirit and letter of the Neutrality Act by our own shipping concerns even while it doth protest softly against equal nullification by London. It was further revealed this week that four American Hawaiian Line freighters and two more belonging to the Lykes Line were sold to England itself; more companies are doing the same.

Already committed to the fortunes of the Allies, Washington is deliberately permitting the nullification of laws which were touted as measures to keep us out of the war.

The Belisha Beacon

LIKE the traffic signals he popularized in London, Leslie Hore-Belisha's ouster from the Secretariat of State for War in Chamberlain's Cabinet signifies another step in switching the imperialistic war machine from the Western Front to the Northern Front. It was to be expected, of course, that Gen. Sir Edmund Ironside, that veteran of British intervention in Russia twenty years ago, would strive for one more go at the Bolsheviks who ingloriously rubbed his nose in the snow of Archangel when they polished off his pal Kolchak and sent Herbie Hoover packing. The sun of Gibraltar has not softened Sir Edmund's memory of defeat and his present position as chief of staff in blighty enabled him to wangle his last chance.

But Leslie Hore-Belisha, like Gladstone's "Jew-boy" Disraeli, stood in the way. Like that older duke of York, "the Soldier's Friend," Belisha had built up a great following in the army through his "democratization" program of firing those Boer War veterans who were responsible for Passchendaele lest another Haig or Kitchener try out their fondness for shelling the Westwall with shrapnel. In this he was seconded by such military mentors as Liddell Hart and J. F. C. Fuller. They were "Western Front" men and, curiously enough, most of the English people thought that this was a war against Hitler. Hence their outcry when Belisha's removal came suddenly and the prophecy of NEW MASSES is come to pass. Maybe it won't be so easy to stampede the English people from Flanders mud to Scandinavian snows. The campaign to do and die for dear old Pilsudski's Poland didn't pan out too well.

The tipoff on the whole business is the naming of the Rt. Hon. Oliver Stanley to Hore-Belisha's post. Stanley is an old Etonian, a younger son of the Earl of Derby, and a son-in-law of the marquess of Londonderry, that interlocutor of the Cliveden minstrel show. He is president of the Board of Trade (the business men's association which has been running the British empire for the last two hundred years), filling Runciman's well licked boots. Oliver Stanley was entrusted with the big payoff money that was being sent to bribe Hitler out of the war just before the Nazi invasion of Poland. But he failed in that job as he has failed on every job assigned to him in his public career.

If the imperialist tories of Britain don't want another Passchendaele with snow instead of nice comfortable mud they had better pay more attention to their strategy. Almost a century ago they were advised by Jomini (Clausewitz's rival) before the Crimean campaign: "The Russian army is a wall which, however far it may retreat, you will always find in front of you. You will be beaten." Lenin knew that.

The Box Score

THE following tabulation of casualties in the Finnish affair, as of January 8, is taken from the New York *Times* alone. Care has been taken to avoid duplication, but certain statistics are approximate, based on calculations of the size of Red Army "divisions, regiments, battalions, and companies," frequently surrounded and annihilated by the correspondents. No reckoning of casualties of the "several hundred" or "fearful" variety has been made.

	Finnish Losses	Soviet Losses
Men killed	269	55,537[1]
Prisoners	0	3,500
Tanks	0	425
Armored Trains	0	1
Destroyers	0	2
Submarines	0	Several[2]
Airplanes	4	251
Crows	2	0
Cellulose Factories	1	0

[1] Including seventy killed by a Finnish skier, and seventy-seven by a Finnish sharpshooter.

[2] Observed along a Russian railroad track (they were being shipped to the Arctic Ocean by rail!) after a Finnish bombing.

New Masses Takes a Bow

FOR the past month, NEW MASSES has presented analyses of the campaign in Finland. Our sources were those available to any newspaper reader in the United States. We have placed our confidence in the unvarnished reports of the Red Army in drawing our conclusions. It is interesting to note that the *U. S. Army and Navy Journal* arrives at strikingly similar conclusions as NEW MASSES. Here is an excerpt from that publication's December 30 issue, page 388:

> Without detracting any from the stubborn defense being put up by the Finns in defense of their territory it must be pointed out that the problem of Russia in taking that territory is vastly different from that of the Germans in their Polish campaign. Poland was taken under the most favorable of weather and over terrain similar to our Midwest plains. Russia, on the other hand, has not even been fortunate in the type of cold weather brought by this season, for the snow, instead of being the normal dry snow, has been wet and heavy, while the ice and marshes have been mushy instead of hard frozen

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—all impediments to military operations either on foot or by motor. Then, too, virtually a continual fog has hung over the country, forbidding any effective air operations. In addition, the very conformation of the land, lakes and inlets through which the invading army must wend its way, precludes the use of the overwhelming forces available to the invader, for there is just no room to operate.

There appears to be no ground for the large number of reports reaching this country that the Russians are inadequately equipped and fed and that many are freezing to death because of inadequate clothing and shelter. As a matter of fact it is quite likely that the losses have been considerably less than contended in dispatches. As a matter of fact, the entire Russian invading forces number only some 200,000 men. . . .

While the Russians have made little genuine progress in their southern sector around the Karelian Isthmus, they appear to be going satisfactorily in the north where they set out from Murmansk. It would seem that the Russian design is to use the southern drive toward Helsinki to keep the Finns busy there while the northern action will cut them off from Sweden and deprive them of supplies from that source and from the ocean in the north. Meanwhile the drive in the central sector, across the narrowest portion of Finland, is intended to cut the little nation in half, disrupt communications, and leave the southern section isolated, to be squeezed out in time.

Balkan Bagatelles

THE Allied effort to develop a Balkan front against both Germany and the Soviet Union met with new difficulties last week in the continued internal irritations among the Balkan nations themselves.

Early last week, Count Csaky, the Hungarian foreign minister, visited the Italian foreign minister, Count Ciano, at Venice and then returned unexpectedly to Budapest with "big news." Hungary needs Italian support in its claim upon Transylvania, the province which the Treaty of Trianon gave Rumania. Italy desires domination in the Balkans; but the breakup of Rumania, which is the Poland of the Balkans, might facilitate exactly what Rome and the Allies wish to avoid: an improved Soviet position. For it will be remembered that Moscow never recognized Rumania's seizure of Bessarabia. Moreover, Rumania's integrity has been guaranteed by the Allies. If Germany were involved in a push toward the lower Carpathians, Il Duce could break his neck trying to face two ways at once. All this is quite apart from how the Turks, new partners of London and Paris, feel about increased Italian influence and the chances of general instability around the Dardanelles.

King Carol's saber-rattling this week was therefore directed farther than Hungary; not so much intended against Moscow, it was a warning to Rome and a cry of despair to Downing Street. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union goes about its business calmly. The Red Army stands on the northern and eastern frontiers of Rumania as well as the Slovakian border, where, during the Benes days, the Ruthenian area of Czechoslovakia strongly supported the Communist Party. Soviet relations with Bulgaria (from whom the Rumanians seized Dobrudja in 1913) were greatly improved this week in a three-year trade and navigation pact. Bulgaria will ship hides, rice, tobacco, and hogs in return for Soviet farm machinery, iron and steel products, petroleum, chemicals, and cotton.

Mr. Murphy Goes Upstairs

DICKENS' Uriah Heep didn't get very far with his pious hypocrisies but, then, the old master didn't know Frank Murphy. The great Michigan liberal goes to the U. S. Supreme Court now but black robes can't conceal the renegade. His final action as attorney general revealed the measure of the man: that scandalous letter charging a number of individuals and organizations with military espionage was so flagrantly unfair that even the conservative Washington *Post* got alarmed: "Extraordinary" the *Post* termed Murphy's procedure. Innocence must be assumed until the defendants are proven guilty, that newspaper said. The *Post* wants the job done—but Heavens, not in a blundering way that will arouse the antagonisms of the American people. "These individuals . . . are all said to have Communist connections. But their guilt must not on that account be assumed. They have not yet been convicted. They have not been tried. Indeed, they have not even been indicted." Joseph Brodsky, noted progressive attorney, one of those smeared by the former attorney general put it this way: "The procedure indulged in in this case can have no other result than to raise a smokescreen of prejudice and war hysteria, and in my opinion, will be condemned by all decent Americans."

The kickback nationally induced Murphy to admit: "If we were to do it again we wouldn't do it just that way." But do it, he will. And this man now becomes a justice of the Supreme Court. He steps up with F.D.R.'s benedictions—to swing the court foursquare behind the President's pro-war and anti-democracy line.

Mr. Murphy's illusory liberalism is fully bared. Frank Kent, in the *Wall Street Journal,* knows the man. "Mr. Murphy is not really a radical, and might turn out 'pretty sound' . . . he could not be counted as a Supreme Court justice merely as a member of the radical faction, as a matter of fact his tendency would be in the other direction." Mr. Kent speaks with the circumspection required by a Wall Street commentator: "tendency" is somewhat euphemistic. Mr. Murphy stands condemned as a traitor to his own, in fact almost daily, professions. He has become as dangerous a foe to civil rights as Martin Dies, perhaps even more so. Mr. Dies doesn't know all the tricks.

Browder for Congress

IN NEW YORK the Communist Party announces that its general secretary, Earl Browder, will run for Congress in the special election Feb. 6, to fill the seat of the late Rep. William Sirovich. This effort should gain the backing of all progressive New Yorkers who see the reactionary aims of the Democratic and Republican Parties becoming more and more alike. A democracy like the United States should have at least a few men in its Congress whose program is not dedicated to the betrayal of their people. With an energetic campaign and the support of all people of good will, Browder has a very good chance to be elected.

The Supreme Court Decides

THREE decisions of great import in the enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act were rendered by the U. S. Supreme Court last week. The court refused to interfere, on the instance of the AFL, with the certification of the CIO longshoremen's union as bargaining agent for all the Pacific Coast stevedores. It reversed the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals' interference with a runoff election among the employees of Consumers Power Co. In the Falk case, it upheld the NLRB's right to keep a company union off an election ballot. The first two rulings inured to the benefit of the CIO, the last to the AFL and CIO.

These decisions represent a victory for administrative law. They proscribe interference with election orders, certifications, and other interlocutory decisions of the board, the sole agency qualified and authorized to make the necessary determinations. This is in consonance with the provisions of the Wagner act, which specifically permits court review only of "final orders" of the board. Limitation of review was written into the law to prevent repetition of the NRA abuses whereby employers substituted court appeals for collective bargaining.

The Supreme Court decisions, however, contain no guarantee for the future. For that matter the NLRB itself has at times been amenable to reactionary pressure. Ultimately, labor's best protection is on the picketline, by strike and by boycott. In view of the way the wind has been blowing in Washington in recent weeks, this cannot be too strongly emphasized.

Dies Talks Democracy

THE devil can cite Scripture, and the Dies committee can talk democracy. Its report to Congress is being described as "moderate," "temperate," and "factual." The beast has learned cunning. After a year and a half of assaulting constitutional rights, the Dies committee rolls its eyes to heaven and intones: "But it is at least equally important that in combating subversive groups of this character nothing be done which would undermine the fundamental structure of constitutional liberty itself." After enlisting an all-star collection of labor spies, fascists, anti-Semites, criminals, and professional Red-baiters to spew their hate on progressive individuals and organizations, it is indeed comforting to learn that:

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The committee condemns without reservation the evident willingness of some supposedly responsible people to endanger the very civil peace of their country by encouraging, for purely political purposes, suspicion, fear, and bigotry of the worst sort.

The committee's report is a transparent **fraud. Its** "moderate" tone, introduced at the prompting of such renegade liberals as Rep. Jerry Voorhis, is the greatest fraud of all. There is nothing moderate or American about the committee's activities and aims. Most of the report is occupied with smearing the Communist Party and various progressive organizations, including ten CIO unions, the League of American Writers — of which Franklin D. Roosevelt is an honorary member—and the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, of which Secretary of the Interior Ickes is honorary chairman. Window-dressing is provided by a perfunctory discussion of Nazi and fascist organizations, with the biggest fascists like Father Coughlin omitted.

The committee's purr is more dangerous than its bark. By a show of good manners it hopes to bamboozle liberals into abandoning their opposition to it, and abandoning as well those progressive causes in which they have collaborated with Communists. But not all are being duped. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom has just issued a statement signed by twelve college presidents, six deans, and more than one hundred other leading educators, scientists, churchmen, writers, artists, and public officials, demanding the unqualified discontinuance of the Dies committee. Let's hope there will be a resounding echo to this demand in Congress.

Roundup

FIFTEEN HUNDRED sharecroppers in southeast Missouri face eviction due to land boom. . . . Treasury Dept. last week revealed that identical bids were received in 1938 for 25 percent of government contracts. . . . N. Y. *Post,* pro-British paper, was banned in Canada for a story on maltreatment of Canadian recruits. . . . Act One—Roosevelt appoints Charles Edison secretary of the navy. Act Two—Charles Edison proposes extraordinary powers for President to mobilize industries for war, annul union contracts. . . . One hundred Pennsylvania labor leaders pledge, "The Yanks Are *Not* Coming!" . . . Eighteen prominent Negro unionists denounce GWTW as Negro papers, Pittsburgh *Courier,* Amsterdam *News,* New York *Age,* and Chicago *Defender,* join *Daily Worker* and NEW MASSES in drive against film. . . . Revival of St. Lawrence Waterway plan, killed years ago in Senate, part of F.D.R. war preparation. . . . Toledo schools reopen after six-week shutdown that "saved" $400,000 for budget balancers. . . . Mexico's President Cardenas in New Year's message rejects return of oil properties. . . . USSR and Japan renew Kamchatka fisheries pact and agree to permanent demarcation of Mongolian boundaries. . . . Brenda Frazier, nineteen in June, ekes out expenses on a $3,500,000 trust fund. . . . White House Conference on Children in a Democracy moved up to Jan. 18 to get a word in the papers before war blots out all news of national crisis. . . . Public agency job placements declined 19 percent since October. . . . Fund shortage curtails ninety-two-year-old activity of New York Academy of Medicine. . . . 92,000,000 Soviet citizens in eleven republics voted in local elections last week. . . . B. Smoliar, of Jewish Telegraphic Agency, cables that Jews in Poland, ignoring editorials that fascism and Communism are same thing, now streaming over Soviet borders. . . . Final payment for Chinese Eastern Railway recalls beating which Red Army gave Chinese militarists ten years ago for attempted rail seizure. . . . United States farmers alarmed over British blockade and restrictions cutting down cotton, pork, tobacco, and fruit exports.

Students United Against War

IF THE vitality of the American Student Union depended upon good press notices, it might have succumbed to pernicious anemia long ago. If this foremost progressive student organization relied for its unity upon White House benevolence, its Christmas Convention might have been a less hopeful augury of the future. Newspapermen at the Madison, Wis., convention, the fifth since the ASU's inauguration in December 1935, were hot after evidence of splits, anti-Communist hysteria, divisive disagreement.

But there was no split; Red-baiting was severely rejected; the resolutions adopted were earthy, matter-of-fact, sober, commonsense affirmations that American students are not being buffaloed by the American press. The only truly controversial issue developed in connection with the proposed censure of the Soviet Union in re Finland. When the matter was brought up on the floor as an amendment to a resolution expressing opposition to the imperialist war in Europe, it was defeated by a vote of 322 to forty-nine.

In the circumstances of the past six weeks, this constitutes a rousing vote of nonconfidence in the American press. It is a resounding rap at the policies of the "fourth" New Deal. The editors of the New York *Post,* the doughty *Herald Tribune,* and others recognize this fact for what it is. "If you could read," said the *World-Telegram,* "you couldn't be that way." Yet the students are not merely literate; they are "reading between the lies" with a vengeance.

The First Lady of the Land was embarrassed: these ASU'ers, said she, are youngsters after all, and besides, represent only a small slice of the student opinion. But in Madison, apparently, they knew that in wartime "the young go first." During the same Christmas vacation, meetings of the National Student Federation of America, in Minnesota, and the Association of Medical Students, in Philadelphia, likewise declined to follow the Washington line. Resolutions on Finland were not even offered; these gatherings sounded significant progressive notes.

The truth is that the American Student Union was merely following the President's injunction last September, when he urged folk to think things through for themselves. They were obeying Franklin D. Roosevelt's own precept at the University of North Carolina a year ago December, in which he himself castigated the "headline mentality."

The liberal weeklies also fail to perceive the portent of this collegiate independence. The *Nation* for January 6 wrote it all off as evidence of "the unique and unflagging energy of the Communists." Irwin Ross in the *New Republic* for January 8 felt that the failure to condemn Russia "can only result in the isolation of the ASU from the main body of students in the country." Yet Communist students were in an unquestionable minority. With some surprise delegates found upon their arrival in Wisconsin that students west of the Alleghanies were not prepared to condemn the Soviet Union, nor were they ready to whitewash Washington at all. On the contrary. This is indeed the crucial, illuminating fact: support against warmongering was general and national in scope, welling up from tens of chapter delegations geographically far removed from the East.

Most impressive to observers was the convention's unity and enthusiasm on all other questions. Indeed, its critical attitude toward the Roosevelt retreat amounts almost to clairvoyance. Ten days after the students voted for the defense of social legislation the President's budget announced a $60,000,000 reduction for the CCC, and one-third as much for the National Youth Administration, while war budget figures skyrocketed to a new high.

An occasion of this kind which angers the reactionaries, embarrasses the New Dealers, and peeves the liberals has a meaning that transcends the level of the campus. The fifth convention of the American Student Union symbolizes a trend. Defying assaults upon their own unity, the students made clear the basis on which a larger and deeper unity of the people can be built.

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Readers' Forum

"Finlandia"—Off Key

TO NEW MASSES: Here I am, whistling *Finlandia.* The propulsion is terrific. Dialing off the New York City Orchestra concert Sunday afternoon, to the strains of Sibelius' patriotic growl, we fell into it again a moment later with the Philharmonic. When I heard a small boy tuning up his harmonica with a few well blown Finlandish chords, I saw that soon it would be hawked in Times Square. Those of us who are partial to revolutionary music, nationalistic, cacophonous, or otherwise, can't help vibrating to the sound of that gloomy saga let out from under the lid of Arctic night, strumming across the taut pines, shaking a little brisk snow in our eyes—*ad infinitum,* till we are almost Finns ourselves.

What can you do about it? Music so immersed in the patriotic trees it cannot see the forest—and us, from this distance, believing that we, however, do see. Let me say that mere heartsickness at this vulgarism (and don't forget that Lenin could use the word vulgar) is enough to repel us. The "patriotic" tune resounding over the bourgeois world is too sweetly keyed, too disarming. We stand fast against it, if only by intuition. Not even Sibelius, nor all philharmonia, can wash a particle of that away.

Did not Spain's people, her artists and her composers too, cry out—but were there national hookups for that tragedy? No, this trumped-up audience we'll have no part of. Not even if we're clouted with a bass viol, all full of Sibelius.

JOHN MITCHELL.

New York City.

A Nation of Shopkeepers?

TO NEW MASSES: Recently efforts have been made to liken England's war against Hitler to her campaign against Napoleon. While thoroughly deprecating this effort, I do think it makes appropriate calling to the attention of your readers the following honest passage from Charlotte Bronte's *Shirley:*

"During the late war, the tradesmen of England would have endured buffets from the French on the right cheek and on the left; their cloak they would have given to Napoleon, and then have politely offered him their coat also, nor would they have withheld their waistcoat if urged: they would have prayed permission only to retain their one other garment, for the sake of the purse in its pocket. Not one spark of spirit, not one symptom of resistance would they have shown till the hand of the Corsican bandit had grasped that beloved purse: *then,* perhaps, transfigured at once into British bulldogs, they would have sprung at the robber's throat, and there they would have fastened, and there hung—inveterate, insatiable, till the treasure had been restored. Tradesmen, when they speak against war, always profess to hate it because it is a bloody and barbarous proceeding: you would think, to hear them talk, that they are peculiarly civilized—especially gentle and kindly of disposition to their fellowmen. This is not the case. Many of them are extremely narrow and cold-hearted, have no good feeling for any class but their own, are distant—even hostile to all others; call them useless; seem to question their right to exist; seem to grudge them the very air they breathe, and to think the circumstance of their eating, drinking, and living in decent houses, quite unjustifiable. They do not know what others do in the way of helping, pleasing, or teaching their race; they will not trouble themselves to inquire; whoever is not in trade is accused of eating the bread of idleness, of passing a useless existence. Long may it be ere England really becomes a nation of shopkeepers!"

America may well ask itself whether England has or has not become a nation of shopkeepers.

MILLEN BRAND.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Three Senator Slaters

TO NEW MASSES: Morris Kamman, in his article "Where Dies Got His Technique" (NEW MASSES, November 7), states: "Ex-State Senator Slater of New York shouted at a meeting of the Kings County, Brooklyn, Republican Club, 'The nation is challenged by organized labor, organized Socialists, organized Bolshevists!' He also railed at liberals."

I am an ex-state senator and this quotation has been sent to me by a friend of mine and charged against me. May I state that I never addressed the Kings County Republican Club and never made the quoted remarks. There have been two other Slaters who have served in the Senate—George A. Slater, deceased, Port Chester, Westchester County, 1915 to 1918; and Samuel S. Slater, New York City, 1901 to 1902. Possibly the last named is the author of the quoted remarks. But I assure you, gentlemen, *that I am not the guilty one.*

FRED J. SLATER.

Rochester, N. Y.

Sumner Welles Forgot

TO NEW MASSES: Sumner Welles spoke to the Cuban Chamber of Commerce about how the United States preserves the independence of the Cuban people. He did not remember that the Cuban Revolutionary Party does not like to have United States naval bases in the islands and perhaps he forgot that the Cuban people would like to be more independent.

He was so busy talking about the Soviets in Finland that he forgot entirely about Puerto Rico and the Palm Sunday Massacre down there last year. Maybe those who shot upon an unarmed parade of boys and girls were only saboteurs or detractors of the good reputation of American democracy. At any rate they received the order of Governor Winship, who had all the blessings of the President. No redress of the massacre has ever been advanced; instead a few more Puerto Ricans have gone to jail.

JULES VELASQUEZ.

Topeka, Kan.

A Request

TO NEW MASSES: One of the most consistent friends of labor that America has ever known was Clarence Darrow, whose life story I am now writing. That is why I feel that many of your readers will have known Mr. Darrow, will have worked with him, followed his cases and causes with great personal interest, and may be able to contribute to the biography by sending ~~me~~ Encino, Calif., material which I might not otherwise be able to find. I will return all such material safely.

IRVING STONE.

Encino, Calif.

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

Selling Things the Hard Way

The Twentieth Century Fund examines the excessive distributing costs of the capitalist system in the United States. Monopolies and the middlemen. The consumer pays.

DOES DISTRIBUTION COST TOO MUCH? *A Review of the Costs Involved in Current Marketing Methods and a Program for Improvement. Factual Findings by Paul W. Stewart and J. Frederic Dewhurst of the Committee on Distribution of the Twentieth Century Fund: Willard L. Thorp, director of Economic Research, Dun & Bradstreet; Stuart Chase, author; Alvin Dodd, president, American Management Association; John P. Frey, president, Metal Trades Department, AFL; Carl L. Hamilton, Booz, Fry, Allen & Hamilton; Helen Hall, director, Henry Street Settlement; Hector Lazo, executive vice-president, Cooperative Food Distributors of America; Paul H. Nystrom, president, Limited Price Variety Stores Association; Robert G. Stewart, formerly director, Standard Oil Co. of N. J. Published by the Twentieth Century Fund. $3.50.*

BE IT ever so humble, your home shelters the shrine at which all business worships. For you have a dollar. It may not be an elastic dollar for you, but its cents and mills possess a capacity for infinite partition—so many to the producers of the goods you buy, and so many to that multitude of eager hands through which pass your grapefruit from Florida, your toothpaste from Jersey City, your automobile from Detroit, and your shoes from St. Louis. Following your dollar into its dispersion, you would find that it costs more to distribute commodities than to produce them. About 59 cents out of your dollar goes for distribution and only 41 cents for production.

We know a good deal about production, its costs, wages, and profits. We know that mass production has brought prices down, that efficiency in production has increased the per capita volume of commodities turned out by each worker. We have seen giant industries swallow smaller ones, and the little men making a steadily shrinking proportion of the total produced—whether it be in manufacturing, agriculture, or mining.

LESS KNOWN ABOUT DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of commodities has been subjected to far less examination, however. We have had little information with which to determine its efficiency, its costs, or the trends which foreshadow the destinies of your druggist, grocer, and favorite filling station. Clearly this sector of our economy deserves study. This is the world of selling and advertising, of Fuller Brush men, and the A&P, of tiny shops and R. H. Macy, and of those self-effacing middlemen who function mysteriously behind the scenes. It is here that the problem of the railroads enters. There are thirteen million people engaged in distribution, in some two million establishments. Is this system of distribution efficient? How much does it cost? Does it cost too much?

The task of answering these questions has been undertaken by a committee appointed by the Twentieth Century Fund. Their recently published findings lay bare the complicated mechanism of distribution and reveal its costs in more detail than any previous study. It was only in 1929 that the first Census of Distribution was taken by the federal government. This study is based on that and on the succeeding collections of data made by the Census Bureau in 1933 and 1935. The result gives us some idea of what distribution really costs, even if the committee cannot tell us "how much too much" that cost is.

We can see more clearly the amazing superstructure business has erected upon the shoulders of the primary producers, the industrial workers and the farmers. Equally revealing are the limitations of these capitalist economists. The composition of the committee was an attempt to enlist all viewpoints (John P. Frey representing labor!). But its philosophy is a compound of fictions, hopes, and naivete. The authors gravely announce that:

> Throughout this book it has been assumed that the important purpose of the various elements of the economic system—distributors, producers, capital, and labor—is not to serve their own individual ends except as a means of getting things to people and satisfying human wants. . . . The preservation of the status of any particular group of distributors is of secondary importance.

These defenders of the profit system thus obscure the profit motive. Yet by the very thoroughness of their factual findings they have unintentionally produced a powerful indictment of the whole profit system. And, as a by-product, the study reveals with equal unconsciousness that the small merchant is doomed to a lingering death by starvation.

Two issues of high importance are involved. If distribution costs too much, then the standard of living of the masses of the American people is suffering. If the small merchant is faced with impoverishment and extinction, then a great human tragedy and a major political problem cry for our attention.

In part, the picture of distribution today is the result of changing habits. In the years between 1870 and 1930 the population of the United States trebled, while the volume of commodities produced multiplied nine times. For every worker in all fields of production in 1870 there were three in 1930, but in distribution there were nine. Thus the increase in the number of workers in distribution corresponded closely with the volume of commodities circulated.

Of course, in 1870 living was vastly different. Fewer goods were bought ready-to-use, like foods and clothing. Many products and services we take for granted were unknown. But the committee is impressed with the 3:1 improvement in productive efficiency as against the practically static 1:1 relationship between the volume of commodities and the number of workers in distribution.

WHY THE COST?

Obviously it cannot be solely a matter of efficiency. Anyone who has worked for a department store, or a chain, or even in a busy grocery, will disprove that charge. The committee tells us that distribution does cost too much. But why? This book gives many reasons: too much competition in offering goods, too many brands of similar products, too many outlets, unnecessary and costly services, too much competitive advertising, too much emphasis on variety of choice and on style.

Thus, to take some of the more fantastic examples, on a single block in one city seventeen milk companies were making deliveries. There are as many as ten thousand brands of wheat flour and 4,500 brands of canned corn. The spread between actual production cost and retail selling price of a $1.95 cotton dress is 114 percent, but on a $39.50 dress it is 216 percent. A man's hat that costs $1.70 to produce sells for $3.50, but one produced for $3.74 retails at $10—the consumer pays $1.80 for the marketing of one and $6.26 for the other! As for the homely cabbage, it takes one dollar of the consumer's money to buy as much cabbage as the farmer sold for 11 cents.

The committee tells us that in the distribution of commodities there is too much competition, too many brands, and the like. But knowing the nature of business, can we ascribe the high costs of distribution to a matter of degree? No, the committee has mistaken the *effects* of our system of distribution for the *cause* of its excessive costs.

The key to the high cost of distribution is only to be found in the workings of capitalism itself. The very postulate of competition is enough to explode the naive assumption in the excerpt quoted above. And surely, when monopolies stifle competition, few will assert that their stranglehold is an example of social service. Since profits are made only by the circulation of commodities, since the manufacturer buys raw materials and machines and labor power only in order to sell commodities, distribution is the bloodstream which feeds the whole organism.

In 1929 the total paid by the ultimate con-

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sumer for commodities was $65,000,000,000, of which $39,000,000,000 went to the cost of distribution. Of that $39,000,000,000, 26 percent was manufacturers' selling costs, including national advertising; 23 percent was the share of transportation; 18 percent went to wholesalers and other middlemen; and 33 percent to retailers. (See chart on page 25.)

The advertising and selling costs of manufacturers amounted to $10,000,000,000. In other words, the surplus value created by labor not only helped pay for the operating expenses and profits of middlemen and retailers, but it directly furnished the initiating drive of the whole process. With this money the manufacturers could proceed to ram their goods down the throats of wholesalers, retailers, and consumers even though they offered "sales resistance." But these middlemen and retailers are handling commodities to make a profit, too. They do not resist. The consumer, properly conditioned, demands the goods. So all together plunge into the furious business of passing the commodities along until the total of all the transactions amounts to $218,000,000,000 to transmit to the final consumer $65,000,000,000 worth of goods.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor has recently published data on earnings and hours in the manufacture of electrical products which have an interesting correlation with the facts presented by the Twentieth Century Fund study. Here is a predominantly monopoly industry, fifth in rank among all manufacturing industries in terms of employment, and third in wages. The profits of General Electric, Westinghouse, and Western Electric are substantial (for the nine months ending Sept. 30, 1939, Westinghouse made a profit of $9,000,000 as against $6,000,000 for the same period in 1938). Remember that the figures in this Labor Department report include the smaller firms, which do not operate as profitably. In this industry wages constitute 21.9 percent of the total value of products and 36.4 percent of the "value added by manufacture." No wonder that in an industry with a high proportion of skilled workers 60 percent of them receive under 72 cents an hour.

FOR SELLING AND ADVERTISING

Turning now to the survey on distribution we find that manufacturers of electrical products in 1931 (a pare-the-expenses-to-the-bone year) spent 20 percent of their net sales for selling and advertising. The wholesalers of electrical goods operated on a cost of 18.6 percent, and the retailers on 34 percent of their net sales. It is clear then that the "value added by manufacture" was far more than the government data indicate. The figure (36.4 percent) may help to measure the manufacturers' profits but it is only part of the surplus value created.

It is primarily the productive enterprises which furnish the drive and explain the consumers' "frivolous" demands. It is only in the domain of "service" that the retailers have added more frills in competition with one another. But the root of that competition must be traced back to the producers. It is they who abstract only part of the surplus value labor creates and dangle the rest as a bait to the distributors.

Not only do the producers use this power to drive competitors out of business. They use it, in some cases, to drive the independent merchant to failure. Thus, at recent hearings of the Temporary National Economic Committee the spokesmen of the smaller independent oil producers "charged that the majors can afford to sell gasoline at little or no profit because of the profits they make on their crude production, refining, and especially their pipelines; that these profits are used to 'subsidize' the sale of products at prices so low that the little independent (drawing his profits from sales alone) cannot exist." (*Business Week*, Oct. 21, 1939.) Since the majors had an income of 28.4 percent on their investment, while the smaller producers made 9.4 percent, "the majors are progressively eliminating the retail gasoline station handling independent brands, and tying up retail outlets with exclusive contracts."

Clearly the committee's explanation of the excessive costs of distribution must remain superficial when it fails to grapple with the basic factor of capitalism itself. What recommendation, then, has the committee to offer? Here again we meet a painful theology:

> The main difficulty in determining whether excess cost or waste exists is that of establishing a workable criterion. The most satisfactory procedure might be to prepare a blueprint of the potential efficiency of an imaginary, perfectly functioning planned economy, and draw a contrast. On such a basis there is no doubt that the demonstrable waste of our present system would be tremendous. But would we want such an economy even if we could have it? Much of the waste that would appear on the basis of such a comparison must be regarded as the price paid for our particular type of economic system, which, waste and all, most of us prefer. We accept and adhere to certain social and political principles coming under the general terms of democracy and freedom of opportunity.

From so much flag-waving comes the breeze of enlightenment. These "principles," for instance, permit the establishment of a filling station on each of four corners of the crossroads. They permit some sixteen thousand brands of face powder and one thousand brands of canned salmon. In such cases, say the authors, "the efficient use of resources clashes with freedom of opportunity." They present still another "basic" principle, that of freedom of choice for the consumer "as well as freedom for the use of all kinds of blandishments by those who are trying to persuade him to buy. Much of our present distribution cost, due to the 'frivolous' demands of consumers and their resistance to standardization, must be charged against this principle."

Obviously, therefore, the recommendations of the committee are something less than startling. They advise an expansion of consumer education, dissemination of government reports on standards, informative labeling, a pricing system which would openly add to goods the costs of credit, delivery, return privilege, etc., with cash-and-carry cheapest. They propose consumers' guides, and cooperatives, and high school courses on consumer problems. For the business man they suggest government and commercial research in cost accounting, more and better statistics on distribution, the repeal of all legislation restricting free development of the various distributive agencies—chain store taxes, discriminatory state laws, and the like. They call for the strengthening of anti-monopoly laws to eliminate price-fixing and other profiteering practices.

It is with an almost audible sigh of relief that the reviewer of this book in *Printers Ink*, the advertising trade journal, says:

> A rather large bill of particulars is thus presented. Significantly, perhaps, none of these reasons for high costs is a new discovery. Each has been recognized for a long time and each has received much attention. Also significant is the fact that most of the problems are not much nearer solution today than they were when discovered.

His emphasis on "significance" is vague—possibly he was amazed that the committee did not propose socialism as the solution! For him, and for other writers for trade papers—whose existence is made possible by advertising and the multiplicity of brands and outlets—there is gratification in the committee's finding that much advertising is a force for social good, speeding the introduction of improved products and making possible lower prices by mass production. Actually, the study points to the wastes and competitive extravagance of advertising as well. Nor am I sure that socially minded dentists would agree that the tremendous sums spent for toothpaste advertising are worthwhile because they "make for better living . . . and promote habits that are socially desirable—such as the regular brushing of one's teeth." One does not deny women the right to enhance their charms by pointing to the huge waste in drug and cosmetic advertising, where manufacturers spend almost 30 percent of their net sales for selling and advertising alone.

In short, the recommendations in this book will not correct the excessive cost of distribution, for the forces of profit-making produce a hydra-headed monster which cannot be subdued by a little lopping off here and there. The very organization of our industry is a factor in the high cost of distribution. Of the 3,073 counties in the United States, 106 produce almost 70 percent of the manufactured commodities. Nearly 94 percent of our factory output is produced by less than 32 percent of the manufacturers. This concentration is one force leading to the multiplicity of outlets and the wastes in our transportation system, which, incidentally, deserves a special study of its own as an accomplice in the costliness of distribution.

Naturally, there are changes going on in the field of distribution. The committee points to trends that show the independent middle-

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man is losing ground, although cooperative wholesalers have proved some source of strength to the retailers in their battle against the chains. The chain stores themselves are growing, particularly the larger sectional and national chains. The swift rise of this group is illustrated by the chart on page 25, which shows that the larger chains have been increasing their share of the total retail sales of the country, at a lower expense, while the independent merchants as a whole have been losing sales, with their expense mounting.

Actually, grouping all independents together obliterates the problem of that great majority of the independents on whom the assault of the economic system falls, the smaller merchants. It is they who struggle desperately to keep their chins above water.

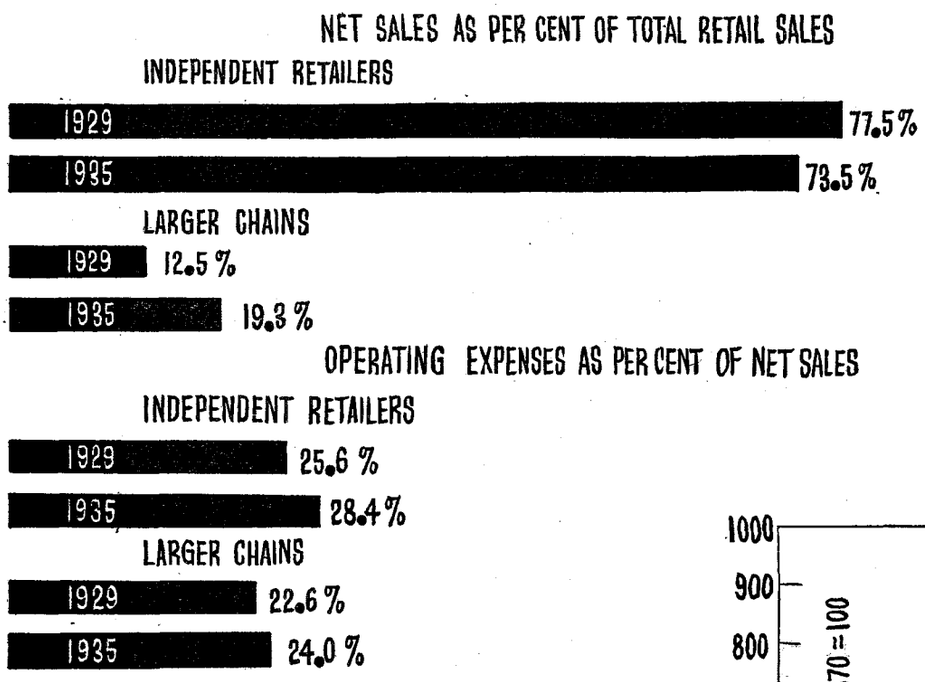
The report gives but scanty information on the profits of distribution. Its averages lump the corner grocer with the A&P grocery chain. From this it appears that the total profits are not large. Manufacturers' "distribution profits," wholesalers' and retailers' profits together amount to 3 cents out of every dollar paid by the consumer, or 5 percent of the total paid for distribution. (The study segregates manufacturers' production costs and distribution costs, but it also insists on an artificial distinction between manufacturers' production and "distribution" profits. How a manufacturer can make any profit at all if he does not sell his goods remains a mystery.)

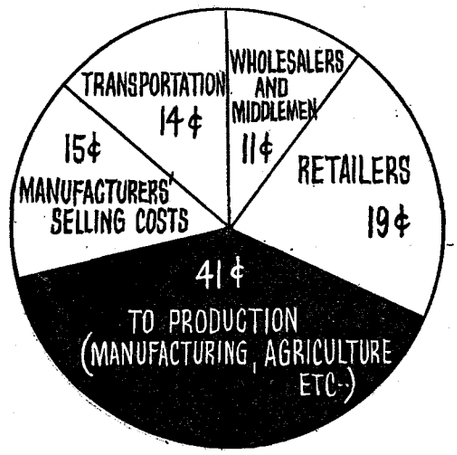
Even from the limited figures available we do know that the profits of manufacturers are from two to three times higher than those of all distributors put together. (When we consider large-scale production, we might well include the industrialized agriculture of California and other states.) For this reason, the manufacturers can launch that overpowering barrage which throws up the multitude of outlets and fractures the consumer's dollar.

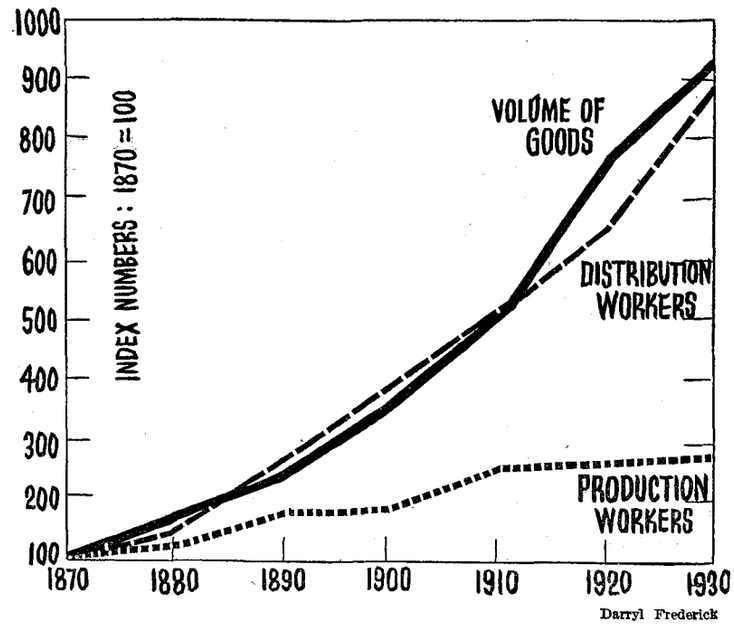
THE CHAINS

Naturally, the pickings are much richer in some cases than in others. They're best for the chains and the powerful independents. The chain stores offer a minimum of service, yet they grow. They pass on to the consumer only a tiny portion of the savings their method of operation makes possible. Strangely enough, the book does not point this out although its own figures show it: Independent retailers get their merchandise from wholesalers and direct from manufacturers and other producers. The operating expense of all wholesalers is over 13 percent of their net sales. The distribution costs of manufacturers range from 9.2 percent (textiles) to 38.8 percent (drugs and toilet goods). The chains, on the other hand, buy direct from manufacturers and distribute the goods through their own warehouses. These warehouses, corresponding in function to the wholesaler, operate on an expense of 4 percent of net sales. In addition, the chain stores receive larger discounts from the manufacturers and lower prices in return for larger orders. Their great volume gives them the power to apply pressure for all sorts of secret discounts and allowances in addition.

Even on the available figures, the superiority of the chains in purchasing power is evident. On drug products the chains receive discounts amounting to 10.1 percent of their net sales, while the wholesalers' discounts amount to 4.5 percent. On food products the ratio is 3.6 percent for chains to 2.3 percent for wholesalers. On tobacco it is 5 percent for chains to 1.4 percent for wholesalers.







Darryl Frederick

CHAINS CROWD OUT THE LITTLE MAN. *Above: While the small independent retailer's share of the market fell from 1929 to 1935 by 4 percent, the chains grabbed up 6.8 percent of total business. Notice that the increase of operating expenses is about the same; the independents bore that increase on less business; the chains on more. Above, right: The graph shows where the consumer's dollar goes. Notice the large slice of 59 cents which goes to wholesalers, middlemen, for transportation and manufacturers' selling costs. Right: Since 1870, the physical volume of goods produced has zoomed. Notice that the increase in distribution workers has kept pace with the volume of goods produced, but has far outstripped the growth of production workers.*

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Even to fail—for that the small merchant has indeed plenty of opportunity. But many bang on, taking the leavings which grow more and more lean. The little business man is today the vestigial representative of the bourgeois American dream. He is the repository of the sainted fictions of American opportunity, tied to the chariot of big business.

Be efficient or die, he is told. But he is efficient enough as a slot machine—and nobody expects a slot machine to have desires of its own. Even in 1929 over 40 percent of all stores had a sales volume of less than $33 a day. By 1935 more than three out of every five stores were in this class. Since the average operating expense of a retailer is around 30 percent of his net sales, and his profits at best are around 2 percent or less, the small merchant lives and works for his landlord, his creditors, his bank, and his local utility companies.

In 1929 there were 1,543,158 retail stores in the United States, and their number had actually increased to 1,653,961 in 1935. The big operators, in 1929, represented only 1 percent of all the retail stores in the country, yet they did 25 percent of the business. That was as much as all the little men did, and they ran three-quarters of all the stores. In 1935 the big fellows, reduced to 0.6 percent of all stores, garnered 26 percent of the retail volume. And the small retailers, who by 1935 represented four out of every five stores, got exactly the same share of the business. (As small merchants I include all doing less than $20,000 annual net sales.)

GOING OUT OF BUSINESS

If a merchant is affluent enough to incorporate his business, he may be comforted to know that one-half of the corporations in all branches of distribution have been making no profit at all. If he is too puny for the corporate toga, he can launch out by himself—a rugged individualist. In that case, since the average life of all American business is five years, he hasn't long to wait before he loses his money. According to a study made in Pittsburgh during 1925-34, one out of every five grocers went out of business each year, and practically half of all grocers going into business were unable to finish their first year. In Buffalo, data on stores going out of business each year showed grocers 36 percent, shoes 22 percent, hardware 16 percent, and drugs 13 percent.

True, on the score of efficiency the chains can demonstrate greater skill in merchandising. But consider also that chain store units are located in heavy buying areas, in selected spots, that they are backed by advertising, skilled in "loss leader" selling, able to put over their private brands at high profits, and expert in driving their workers. They give a minimum of service and extend little or no credit. (Ask any WPA worker whether he ever got credit at a chain store.) Thus, taking all independent stores, the sales per dollar of wages are $5.45, while in the chains they are $8.49. In combination grocery and meat stores the chains get twice as much in average annual sales per employee than the independents. In the supermarkets, operated on a self-service basis, the rate must be still higher.

Further complicating the plight of the small merchant are the changing habits of the American consumer, the use of the automobile for shopping, "style consciousness," the search for variety, and the like—mainly generated by national advertising. Particularly do these affect the smalltown dealer. Practically half of all retail stores are located in towns of five thousand and under—a little less than half of the population lives in such towns. Yet these stores do less than one-quarter of the business. Even if we take into consideration their slightly lower operating expense, it would appear that the *average* compensation of the smalltown retailer was around $25 a week in 1929. But in 1935 retail sales had declined more than 26 percent under 1929, while rents, light, and other costs have not gone down nearly so much. It is therefore generous to estimate proprietors' compensation in the small towns at from $800 to $900 a year, average. And this includes the pay of the wife, the son, the daughter, all helping behind the counter.

MARGINAL DISTRIBUTOR

Caught in the gears, the small retailer lubricates the distribution system — and is squeezed dry by it. While the standard of living was rising he managed to live comfortably, or at least survive. But the whole system is slowing down. The present boomlet will burst—should we be dragged into this war his fate will be all the swifter. Today the small merchant is the marginal distributor, so to speak. His very existence makes possible larger profits for the powerful chains and the big independents.

Against the forces crushing him, the retailer tilts an impotent lance. Fair trade laws, chain store taxes, discriminatory state legislation: these are part of his defense. In effect, the small merchant is pressing for decentralization, struggling to restore free competition, trying to push back the hands of time. He becomes a natural prey to "radical" schemes. He may hate the big fellows, but he is devoted to the ideals of profit-making and unlimited opportunity. All too often his resentment and desperation have been directed against labor. The statistics reveal the preconditions for his receptivity to fascist appeals, if statistics can foreshadow a state of mind.

To win the small merchant to his side is a problem for the whole labor and progressive

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movement. Surely it is to his immediate interest to endorse and fight for increased WPA appropriations, social security, federal housing projects. He should be a principal supporter of nationalization of the banks and the railroads, which put such a burden on him. Certain of his demands, too, must receive the support of the progressive movement; it's high time to study them and help guide the little retailer.

But his dilemma is too deeply rooted for cure. The committee responsible for the book under review could not face the solution because it "would raise problems far beyond the area of distribution itself, although [they admit] some of the most pertinent considerations appear in this wider area." To present the actual significance of their findings it has been necessary to dig out the meaningful facts. They did not dare enter that "wider area." For the answer to their question, "Does distribution cost too much?" is that *capitalism* costs too much.

ROBERT STARK.

The Fascist Styx

ACROSS THE DARK RIVER, *by Peter Mendelssohn. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $2.50.*

THE unbelievable incident was in all the newspapers. In the spring of 1938, the Nazis forced all the Jews out of Kittsee, a little Austrian village near the Czechoslovakian and Hungarian borders. But where were they to go? Neither of the neighboring states wanted them. Driven back and forth, they were at last allowed to stay on an old foul abandoned barge.

Through Peter Mendelssohn's imaginative realism, the novel becomes a moving reproduction of the historic event, as well as a composite symbol of the post-war Ahasuerian man whose uprootedness is so complete as to deprive him even of a no-man's land. These hunted Jews (among whom are "Aryan" anti-Nazis) cannot even be refugees. Here, alienation has reached the psychological ultimate. Their suffering is so intense, so relentless and ceaseless that one must laugh to be able to endure the story of their tragedy.

Ernst Bloch has pointed out that the exile who knows why he is forced to leave his country and is aware of his political responsibility is by no means uprooted. But Mendelssohn's motley group does not understand why it is being persecuted or who its enemy is. Hence, they are psychologically paralyzed. As one of them puts it: "I cannot fight a thing that hides in the dark under brushes and in the undergrowth . . . I cannot fight something that runs away from me and never stands up to me. I cannot fight the darkness."

Still, positives emerge from the story. The various class elements merge to "socialize" their losses; they learn communality of living. Most basic of all, as they begin to sense the principles behind their fates they acquire something of a psychological home. And this is precisely what the fascists cannot have. Their tactics reveal fear, a nervous fear of the "Jew"—an undefined, ubiquitous adversary who must be endlessly combated. It is the human constant that they are up against, the indestructible element that must spell their ultimate defeat. In this sense, it is the fascists who are doomed to roam aimlessly on the dark Styx, as the others gather their communal strength.

HARRY SLOCHOWER.

The Boy Grows Up

NIGHT OF THE POOR, *by Frederic Prokosch. Harper & Bros. $2.50.*

MR. PROKOSCH is the possessor of a lush, romantic style of writing and a lush and romantic attitude toward life. A best-selling novelist since his earlier books, *The Seven Who Fled* and *The Asiatics,* he has now turned his attention to the native scene.

It is of some significance that the first two books, about the Orient, were written by a young man who is said never to have visited the locales he described. And it is difficult, in reading *Night of the Poor,* to believe that the author, like his protagonist, has made the painful journey on foot and hitch-hiking from Wisconsin to Texas. The novel, largely concerned with the growing pains of the male adolescent, persists in finding lush romanticism in the life of the wild boys and girls of the road; even their diseases, their hardships, their starvation, exhaustion, demoralization are "thrilling." For that reason the narrative fails to achieve what its author obviously intended—a universal treatment of the threshold years of adolescence and young manhood, and a pervasive sympathy with the outcasts of this rich American continent. These major themes are seen through pale pink glasses, with an emphasis on adjectives, and for all the validity of the experience the material might have been assembled in any reference library.

ALVAH BESSIE.

A Soldier's Life

NO ARMS, NO ARMOUR, *by Robert Henriques. Farrar & Rinehart. $2.50.*

THE authorship of this book gives it an expose flavor. It isn't often that officers in the British Army write novels to show that reflection comes hard in His Majesty's Service, or that the favoritism, boot-licking, and flat stupidity are as bad as large numbers of people have always supposed. But the expose, on the whole, is gentle. Major Henriques is concerned with the problem of "emergence" (mental and spiritual) in the army. His hero, young Lieut. Tubby Windrush, emerges for 373 pages, starting strictly from nothing: gentleman product of Public School, healthy, loving horses, liking army life because it doesn't make him think. Three friends—his girl, a disillusioned subaltern, and a gently philosophical major—push him on the agonizing road toward con-

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Friday, January 12, JOHN L. SPIVAK, Milrose Chateau, 1830 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., 8:30 P.M., Ausp. Jewish People's Committee.
Sunday, January 14, JOSEPH NORTH, Ten Eyck Studio, 116 West 21st Street, N. Y. C., 8:30 P.M., Topic: INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, Ausp. I. W. O.
Sunday, January 14, JOHN L. SPIVAK, Hunt's Point Palace, Southern Blvd. and 163rd Street, Bronx, N. Y., 2:00 P.M. Ausp. Jewish People's Committee.
Sunday, January 14, RUTH McKENNEY, I. W. O. Hall, 772 High Street, Newark, N. J., 8:30 P.M., Topic: AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL VALLEYS. Ausp. Modern Bookshop. Adm. 35c.
Sunday, January 14, HOWARD SELSAM, Flatbush Marxist Forum, 1112 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., 8:00 P.M. Topic: THE MEANING OF FREEDOM AND THE WORLD TODAY.
Friday, January 19, JOSEPH STAROBIN, Progressive Forum, 430 Sixth Avenue, N. Y. C., 8:15 P.M., Topic: THE WAR AGAINST THE SOVIETS. Adm. 20c.
Friday, January 19, JOSEPH NORTH, Croton-on-Hudson, 8:00 P.M., Topic: INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

sciousness. It's hard to appreciate the agony without knowing Tubby, whose progress might be described as from baby-eyed complacency to adolescent wonder. Exactly what he emerges to is never clear—there are phrases about experience being more significant than pain, people do not believe in God sufficiently, and it's important to be human. A much more satisfying character is the cynical subaltern, who does his thinking out loud with vociferous, alcoholic bitterness. There are some good scenes, too, which will not help the War Office's recruiting campaign.

Major Henriques resigned from the army in 1933, but became a Regular soldier again last July. In his Author's Note (written last August) he does his bit by explaining that he finds the army personnel has undergone a considerable change for the better during the last decade. "I can only say," he adds, "that I have now, once more, become a Regular (if only temporary) soldier. I hope that I may be allowed to work out my three years in undistinguished obscurity and in peace." Proving that hope, as well as reflection, hasn't much place in the army: Major Henriques is again an active officer, and there is no peace.

The book, it should be mentioned, won the second All-Nations Prize Novel Competition.

BARBARA GILES.

Esthetics of the Dance

INTRODUCTION TO THE DANCE, *by John Martin. W. W. Norton & Co. $3.50.*

THE esthetics of dancing, as propounded by John Martin of the New York *Times,* are solid, healthy, and pretty much basic to all the arts: art must relate to life, art is social and functional, the artist is a member of his society and his work part of it. Accepted as these tenets may be in the other arts, however, in dance there has been the constant temptation to draw off into the abstract corners of hyperbolic emotion. As a matter of fact, it was only a little over a year ago, just when we thought the battle was all done and neatly catalogued in the files, that a new sprout of "pure" dancing sprang out on the scene, and square in the middle of the progressive school of the modern dance.

Curiously enough, Mr. Martin, after a rather fine treatment of form, composition, and style in dance, and a sharp analysis of ballet dancing and recreational dancing, does an about-face. He forgets his excellent esthetics long enough to embrace whole-heartedly the mystic and the unreal to the complete neglect of the profoundly socially significant works danced throughout the country these past several seasons.

There is a lack of balance here which fortunately does not carry over into the author's high praise for the WPA Dance Project, his sharp attack on the reaction which killed it, and his keen and well directed plea for federal subsidy for the culture of America and its artists.

OWEN BURKE.

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

New Jazz Music

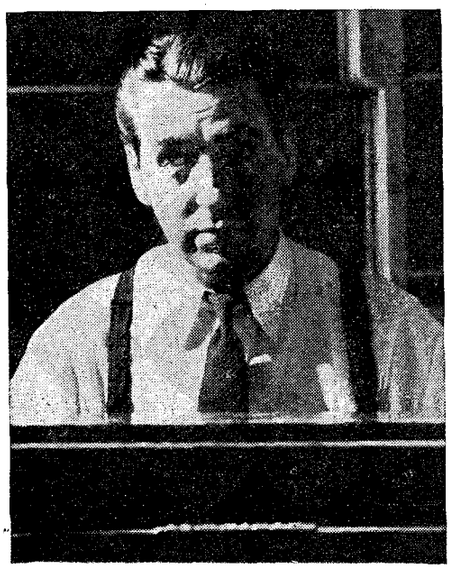
Bix Biederbecke, Jess Stacy and Chicago school, and a collection of chain gang songs by Lawrence Gellert arranged for piano and voice by Lan Adomian.

SUPPOSE a publisher were to offer a portfolio of color reproductions, not made from the original paintings, but from torn and dirty facsimiles. Suppose the country were to receive it with huzzas. The case is similar to a new album of five ten-inch records from the Hot Record Society, reissuing the early cornet playing of Bix Biederbecke with the Wolverines. The performances have been dubbed from cherished and well worn collectors' copies of the acoustic Gennett originals of 1923-24. Bix was eighteen and the others were as young and this was the only band in which Bix played the way he wanted to, before Whiteman and the rest had almost stifled the memory of the way Louis Armstrong and King Oliver and Nick La Rocca taught him. There are few spectacular solos; the best one is on "Davenport Blues," his own sweet tune about his home town. Bix was king in this band; he leads them through "Jazz Me Blues," "Sensation," "Fidgety Feet," "Royal Garden Blues," "Tiger Rag," "Big Boy" (in which he jumps over to the piano for a chorus), "Oh Baby," "Tia Juana," and "Toddlin' Blues," in which the band was very drunk and scarcely able to hit a note on the nose. It will take a patient ear to pick the instruments apart and feel the music through the muffled acoustic recording, but it's there and will be for a long time.

I don't mean to be overly nostalgic, or Gone With the Wind Instruments, but this old jazz music of Chicago may not be heard again. There is a welcome little revival of the Chicago mood and style in a half-dozen contemporary releases by Jimmy MacPartland's Squirrels and Muggsy Spanier's Ragtime Band. MacPartland's cornet is pure and simple and he leads the band through some fine oldtimers like "All Bound Round With the Mason-Dixon Line" and "Eccentric" on the four Hot Record Society sides. The piano of Jack Gardner is particularly admirable for the solid background he provides.

Muggsy Spanier, one of the few white trumpet players who has the respect of Louis Armstrong, has folded up his little Ragtime Band after a couple of hopeless months, leaving eight sides on Bluebird. Muggsy plays with a dirty tone, and a spare, repetitive choice of notes, with subtle changes of value. "Dippermouth Blues" is the one I like best and also "Relaxin' at the Touro," a wry tribute to the sanitarium in which he spent several years. George Brunies, the old New Orleans trombonist, and Rod Kless, on clarinet, stand out in the band.

Piano stuff continues to hold its own as the orchestral style dims away. Blue Note has brought out an attractive folder of two



JESS STACY, *Chicago jazz pianist, whose new solos are reviewed on this page.*

twelve-inch blues improvisations by Meade "Lux" Lewis, almost twenty minutes of sustained playing on the traditional blues theme. These were made in the first month of Mr. Lewis' New York engagement as a member of the Boogie Woogie trio, and reveal the expressive blues feeling underlying the spectacular Boogie Woogie style. United Hot Clubs of America has re-pressed another rare Boogie Woogie solo by the late Pine Top Smith in "Jump Steady Blues," not so musically interesting as "Pine Top's Boogie Woogie," but having an interesting conversational introduction. The reverse is a Montana Taylor solo, "Indiana Avenue Stomp," the work of a Boogie Woogie artist about which nothing is known except his great folk talent.

Jess Stacy plays with superb inspiration on two new piano solos for Commodore Classics in Swing, "The Sell-Out" and "Ex-Stacy." The first side is in fast tempo, accompanied by a noticeable foot stomp which gives the record the feel of actual performance. With the slow blues of the other side, the twelve-inch performance is the best piano solo by a white player in many a moon.

Ida Cox, the oldtime blues singer introduced at the *From Spirituals to Swing* concert, is present with a fine Vocalion of Porter Grainger's "WPA Rag," appropriately tagged "Pink Slip Blues" on this occasion. Miss Cox's vocal instrument falls short of Bessie Smith's but her full, slow, rhythmic attack of the twelve-bar blues is a welcome thing to hear again. The record is a must because of its true blues feeling, the social importance of the song, and the excellent accompanying ensemble led by Oren "Lips" Page and Charles Christian, BG's fine new Negro electric guitarist. The Goodman sextet, with Mr. Christian adequately featured, has a couple of new Columbia 50-cent numbers that are delightful for what Paul Bowles has called the "watch-work-like quality" of the playing. In "Flyin' Home" and "Soft Winds" the technical unity of the sextet is shown at its best.

Jack Teagarden has finally cut a couple of good sides for Columbia in "Muddy River Blues" and "Wolverine Blues," the kind of stuff Jack should play on his eloquent trombone, the old Gulf Coast blues idiom. The band is still rather thick and clumsy but shows great improvement over its beginning.

Another collection of Negro folk songs comes from Lawrence Gellert and Lan Adomian in "Me and My Captain" (Hours Press—50 cents). These are songs of the chain gang as Mr. Gellert has recorded them in the Deep South, and I was struck with the similarity they have to the blues. Joe Turner, the Kansas City Blues artist, sings "Ain't gonna be your lowdown dog no more . . . ," and the shackled singer of this anthology sings, "Ain't gonna be your work ox no more. . . ." Here is the most militant music of the Negro, veiled in poetic statement, of course, because it must be sung under the rifle barrels of the boss man, but there is nothing cringing about it. Indeed a study of the blues lyric would reveal a different kind of song from the lament of resignation the blues is thought to be. Lan Adomian has arranged the songs for voice and piano with a nice respect for the original feeling. One minus mark for this fine book is the fact that the lyrics are set in such small type that it will be difficult to sing them over the pianist's shoulder.

JAMES DUGAN.

Dance Holiday

Martha Graham, Ballet Caravan, Sai Shoki, Carmalita Maracci.

NEW YORK saw as fine a dance festival as it has had in almost a decade at the St. James Theater during Christmas week. Martha Graham with her splendidly performing dancers offered, in addition to favorite items from her repertory, the new solo, *Columbiad,* and the group composition, *Every Soul Is a Circus. Columbiad* derives from Timothy Dwight's revolutionary ode of 1777. There is an austere quality in the dancer's heroic movement ("To conquest and slaughter

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let Europe aspire . . . Thy heroes the rights of mankind shall defend") but it is a serenity with not enough meaning in a world with new and more devastating wars unloosed. A dance of peace, it is a wishful dance which falls short of reality.

Every Soul Is a Circus is new for Martha Graham and for contemporary dance. It moves in novel and broadening forms, developing the use of pantomime in dance structure. It plays with psychological study and brings pathos to the dance theater as has rarely been done before. The "soul" is that of a woman who would put meaning into her limited and insignificant world, the "circus" is the unreal world of imagination, a world in which she builds her soul to heights. It is a world in which love plays the major role, a shallow world as thin as the small woman's ambitions. The dancer, gently satirical and sympathetic, although limited by her subject matter, reaches again into new and untried regions.

The American Ballet Caravan presented a slight frou-frou *Charade* and the excellent *City Portrait* by Eugene Loring, a study of Dead End poverty, misery, love, and hope. The resolution of the dance displays the one serious weakness in the choreographer's work. While he decries this sordid environment and envisions its destruction, there is no thread in the ballet indicating the possibility of such a climax. Loring has yet to understand the forces working to liberate the people from slum existence. But we may expect much of the Caravan as long as he works with it.

Sai Shoki is a Korean dancer who resurrected the folk, religious, and character dances of her people, building such sensitive portraiture as the old man in *Dream of Youth* and the comic *Greatest General under the Sun*. In elegant costume and mask Sai Shoki makes for a pleasant evening in the theater.

Carmalita Maracci, hailing from the West Coast via Uruguay, is an electric personality bringing the traditional Spanish techniques to modern forms. Exciting, theatrical, her *Iberian Folk Themes* will lift you out of your seat. *Live for the One Who Bores You* will send you home asking where this dancer has been all your life.

The audience which crowded the theater for a week indicated rather conclusively that there is a desire as well as a reason for a full theater dance season. OWEN BURKE.

Grand Street Drama

The East Side Dramatic Group presents "Boom-Boom Clopper"

A MELODRAMA of New York's East Side is playing until January 15 at the Neighborhood Playhouse on Grand Street with the fascinating title, "Boom-Boom Clopper." Clopper means "one who clops" or "slugger" and the "Boom-Boom" part is onomatopœic for the noise a gun makes; hence in the King's English: "triggerman." So it's a good title for Arthur Smith's play,

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Offstage action leaves room behind the footlights for plenty of suspense and except for a few overwritten soliloquies, there are no dull moments. Very likely some blue penciling already has speeded things up since opening night. August Sack's dock setting is excellent.

All in all, it's well worth the journey down to Grand Street. For the benefit of those uptown New Yorkers who remember the tedious trips to the "Grand Street Follies" in the early twenties it might be pointed out that the Municipal Subway has solved all that. Get off at Delancey Street.

BARNABY HOTCHKISS.

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The Museum of Modern Art film library has arranged a series of six programs of historic silent films from the USSR, many of which have never been seen here, through the cooperation of the Scientific-Research Institute in Moscow. The films are shown daily at 4 p.m. at the museum with a 2 o'clock screening added on Sundays. The Soviet series starts Friday, January 12, and continues daily through the following Wednesday. Readers should consult the museum's schedule for subsequent showings. J. D.

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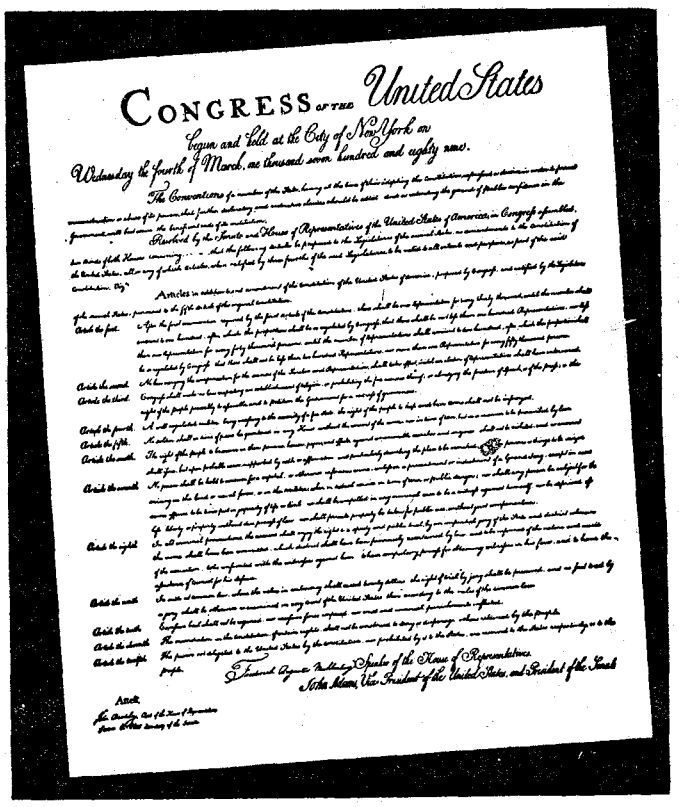
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